

Phönizische Funde aus dem Rauhen Kilikien

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Zusammenfassung

Die Beziehungen Kilikiens zu den Phöniziern waren wenigstens ebenso bedeutend wie die zu Griechenland. Bislang bekannt sind die phönizischen Inschriften aus Hassan Beyli und vom Karatepe, die Stempelsiegel aus der Grabung Gözlükule in Tarsus, alle im Ebenen Kilikien, und einer Inschrift nahe Alanya im Rauhen Kilikien. In diesem Aufsatz wird ein Teil der in den letzten Jahren im Rauhen Kilikien neu gefundenen phönizischen Objekte, Keramik und Terrakotten, vorgestellt. In den kilikischen Museen gibt es eine reiche Auswahl von phönizischen Amphoren und Krügen, die hier in Auswahl gezeigt werden. Die phönizischen Funde aus dem Rauhen Kilikien stammen aus einer Zeit zwischen dem 8. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. Sie sind ein wichtiger Beleg für die Beziehungen des Rauhen Kilikiens mit Phönizien in dieser Zeit. Es scheint Zufall zu sein, daß in den gleichen Jahrhunderten sowohl Griechen als auch Phönizier im Rauhen Kilikien anwesend waren. Wie auch die Griechen erreichten die Phönizier Kilikien über das Mittelmeer, so daß die Mehrzahl der Funde an den Küstenstädten zu finden ist. Bislang wurde bei den Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Kilikien wenig auf Phönizica geachtet; es ist zu hoffen, daß in der nächsten Zeit weitere Belege für diese Kontakte an das Tageslicht kommen.

Nachdem die mykenische Vorherrschaft über die Meere gebrochen war, ergriffen die Phönizier die Gelegenheit, auf Zypern, den ägäischen Inseln und an den Küsten Griechenlands, Italiens und Spaniens Kolonien zur Aufnahme von Handelstätigkeiten zu gründen.¹ Beweise für diese Verbindungen, wie Schrift-, Keramik- oder Metallfunde, sind aus den phönizischen Niederlassungen des Westens bekannt. Verglichen mit diesen sind die phönizischen Funde aus Kilikien weniger reichhaltig, was aber wohl eher mit den ungenügenden Forschungen sowie der geringen Literatur über diese zusammenhängt. Nach der heute geltenden Meinung breiteten sich die Phönizier im wesentlichen im Ebenen Kilikien (Que, Cilicia Pedias) aus (Abb. 1).² Die aus Phönizien stammenden archäologischen Funde aus dem Rauhen Kilikien zeigen dagegen die Anwesenheit der Phönizier ebenfalls im gebirgigen Abschnitt Kilikiens auf.

Obgleich es sehr enge Verbindungen zwischen den nahegelegenen Gebieten gibt, wurde in den phönizischen Texten, außer der Nennung an sich, Kilikien mit keiner Angabe erwähnt.³ Die Nennung 'K l k y' auf einer aus Zypern stammenden Inschrift wird als 'Kilikier' ausgelegt.⁴

In den westlichen Quellen wird dagegen die phönizische Ausbreitung in Kilikien wenigstens beiläufig genannt. So beschreiben Xenophon und Skylax Myriandos als phönizische Kolonie.⁵ Die genaue Lage der in der Bucht von Iskenderun zu findenden Stadt ist aufgrund ungenügender archäologischer Hinweise noch nicht lokalisiert worden.⁶ Abgesehen davon lassen sich auch die

mythologischen Inhalte des Baal⁷-Sandon-Kultes in Tarsos sowie Sandokos,⁸ der legendären Gründer von Kelenderis, als Elemente mit phönizisch-syrischen Wurzeln aufzählen. Weiterhin geben auch die in Kilikien gefundenen phönizischen Stempelsiegel und Inschriften wichtige archäologische Hinweise. Stempelsiegel wurden am Gözlükule in Tarsos gefunden.⁹ Phönizische Inschriften stammen dagegen vom Karatepe (705-695 v. Chr.),¹⁰ vom 28 km südwestlich vom Karatepe gelegenen Hasan Beyli (715 v. Chr.)¹¹ und vom Berg Cebel İrez nahe Alanya (630-600 v. Chr.).¹² Die fehlenden Verbindungen der Personen- und Götternamen dieser Inschriften zum ansässigen Volk könnten ein Hinweis für die Verwendung des phönizischen Alphabets als offizielle kilikische Schrift sein.¹³ Neben diesen epigrafischen Aspekten zeigen die Reliefs in Kilikien einen so deutlichen phönizischen Einfluß,¹⁴ daß auch ein aus Phönizien-Syrien stammender Bevölkerungsanteil vermutet werden kann.¹⁵

Die im vorigen Abschnitt aufgezählten Nachweise der Phönizier in Kilikien sind, bis auf die eine Inschrift, vollständig auf die Cilicia Pedias beschränkt. Aber die Forschungen der letzten Jahre zeigen, daß die phönizischen Funde auch im Rauhen Kilikien nicht selten sind, ja sogar deren Varianz im gesamten Kilikien steigern können. Diese hier angesprochenen phönizischen Belege stammen aus der antiken Stadt Kelenderis sowie aus der als Quellheiligtum interpretierten Fundstelle Gözce 10 km westlich von Kelenderis.

Die größte Gruppe der phönizischen Erzeugnisse



Abb. 1. Karte von Kilikien mit antiken Städten und Orte mit phönizischen Funden.

aus dem Rauhen Kilikien bilden die Krüge und Amphoren aus der Nekropole von Kelenderis, wie aus den Eingangslisten der Museen zu ersehen ist. Zu den ältesten phönizischen Gefäßen in Kilikien sind die Amphoren mit horizontalen Henkeln zu rechnen, die bei den Ausgrabungen von Kelenderis gefunden wurden (Abb. 2 Nr. 1).¹⁶ Dieser Amphorentyp zeichnet sich durch ein breites, gewölbtes Profil mit einer bauchigen Eiform, Schultern und Flachboden aus. Die Höhe beträgt 60 cm. Die über die Mündung hinweg ragenden Henkel mit dickem Querschnitt sind, einen breiten Bogen formend, parallel auf beiden Schultern angebracht und dienen zum Aufhängen des Gefäßes. Da Amphoren dieser Art ein großes Volumen fassen und mit einem Flachboden ausgestattet sind, wurden sie wohl mehr zu Aufbewahrungszwecken denn zum Transport verwendet.

Amphoren mit Horizontalhenkel wurden auf Zypern, in Syrien und Palästina gefunden.¹⁷ Nach E. Gjerstad stammt der Vorläufer dieses Typs aus Zypern und wurde danach ebenso in den östlichen Mittelmeerländern produziert.¹⁸ Über die Datierung der Amphoren mit Horizontalhenkel besteht noch keine Einigkeit. A.G. Sagona, die eine Amphorentypologie für das östliche Mittelmeer erstellte, setzt nach Grabfunden aus der KAI-Phase in der Nekropole von Salamis als Obergrenze das Ende des 8. Jh. v. Chr. an.¹⁹ Ein weiteres beschriftetes Gefäß aus Salamis wird in das 7. Jh.,²⁰ ein anderes aus Tell Keisan, das zusammen mit im 'wild goat'-Stil dekorierter Keramik gefunden wurde, dagegen in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert.²¹ Ähnliche Amphoren aus Milet sind ein Beweis für die Verbindungen der westana-

tolischen Stadt mit Zypern im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.²²

Die kilikische Amphore mit den Horizontalhenkeln wurde in Kelenderis in der untersten Schicht, einem durch Brand zerstörten Horizont, gefunden. In dieser Schicht befand sich, vergesellschaftet mit wenigen Stücken aus dem späten 8. Jh. v. Chr., in der Mehrzahl Material aus der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. In Gesamtform ähnelt sie den Amphoren der KAI-Phase,²³ hat aber im Gegensatz zu den zypriotischen Beispielen und denen aus den anderen Zentren eine breitere Schulter und einen größeren Bodendurchmesser.

Kanaanitische Amphoren²⁴ mit einer durchschnittlichen Größe von 50 cm wurden in großer Zahl in Kilikien gefunden (Abb. 2 Nr. 2-3). Dieser Typ ist mit breiten, nur leicht geneigten Schultern ausgestattet; die Wandung verbreitert sich wenig bis zum scharfen Bauchumbruch und endet gerade einziehend in einem spitzen Boden. Die Henkel sind vertikal auf der Schulter und mittig am Oberteil angebracht. Mit ihrer Krümmung eignen sie sich nicht als Handhabe, sondern dienten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit zum Befestigen einer Schnur. Vergleichbare Beispiele datieren die Amphore Nr. 2 in eine Zeit von 600 bis 475 v. Chr.,²⁵ die Amphore Nr. 3 dagegen zwischen 475 und 400 v. Chr.²⁶ Im Gegensatz zu Gefäß Nr. 1 erstreckt sich der schulterbetonte kanaanitische Amphorentyp mit einer größeren geographischen Ausdehnung auf das späte 7. Jh. bis in das Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.²⁷

Eine andere Gruppe phönizischen Ursprungs sind die im Museum Silifkes ausgestellten Krüge (Abb. 3 Nr. 4-7). Die durchschnittliche Größe dieser Gefäße beträgt 30 bis 40 cm. Charakteristische Merkmale sind der konische Hals und der ei- bis

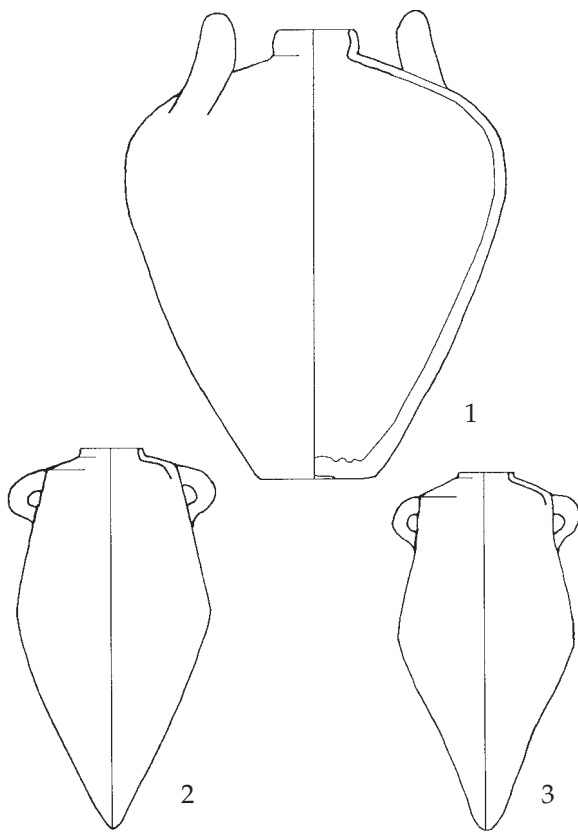


Abb. 2. Katnr. 1-3 Amphoren. Skale 1:10.

birnenförmige Körper, wobei der Hals deutlich von der Schulter abgesetzt ist. Die ringförmige Mündung wird durch einen Kanal an der Innenseite betont. Der Henkel ist am Übergang von Hals und Körper sowie am Ansatz des Halses angebracht. Als Abschluß dient ein niedriger, dickwandiger, leicht nach außen gestellter Standring. Neben einfachen undekorierten Krügen kommen auch einige Beispiele mit einer einfachen Horizontalbanddekoration vor.

Es ist gesichert, daß dieser Krugtyp Metallformen nachahmt. Als Vorbild für die kilikischen Beispiele kann der Typ B der in A, B und C getrennten Gattungen²⁸ gelten. Die kelendrinischen Stücke lassen sich mit den Formen der im 8. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr. an der Levant- und Mittelmeerküste verbreiteten Krügen²⁹ sowie den zur Red-Slip Ware gehörenden Tongefäßen³⁰ vergleichen.

Ohne Zweifel sind die auf das 7. bis 6. Jh. zu datierenden Stücke aus Kelenderis von den birnenförmigen Bronzekrügen beeinflusst.³¹ Leider sind in Kilikien, im Gegensatz zu Spanien, Italien und Zypern, keine Metallgefäße gefunden worden, die als Vorbilder gedient haben könnten.

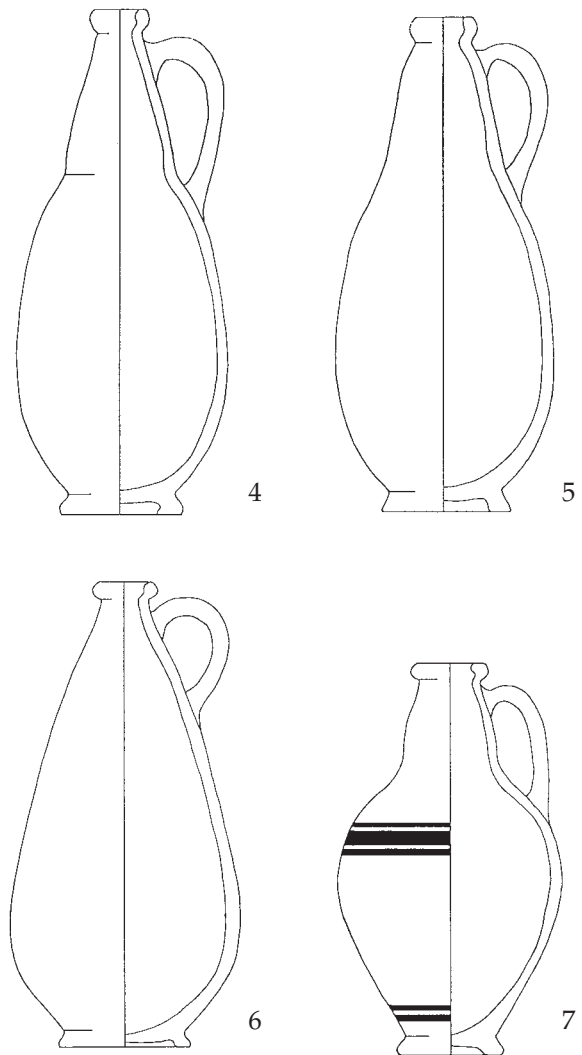


Abb. 3. Katnr. 4-7 Krüge. Skale 1:6.

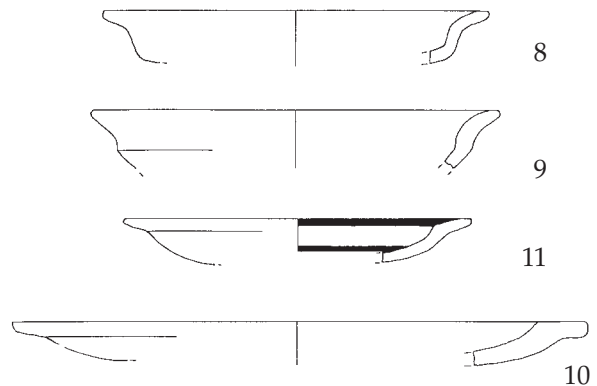


Abb. 4. Katnr. 8-11 Teller. Skale 1:4.

Teller aus Kelenderis mit nach außen gezogenem Rand, die auf der Außenseite grob poliert sind (Abb. 4 Nr. 8-11), zeigen wiederum Verbindungen zum phönizisch-syrischen Einflußbereich. Ähnliche Formen kommen gehäuft in den westlichen phönizischen Kolonien vor.³² Wenige dieser Stücke wurden auch in Kelenderis gefunden. Obgleich diese große Ähnlichkeiten zu den Tellern anderer Fundorte haben, kann nicht gesagt werden, daß sie nach Kelenderis importiert wurden, sondern sie können auch unter phönizischem Einfluß in einer lokalen Töpferei gefertigt worden sein. Mit den Tellern aus Kelenderis vergleichbare phönizische Beispiele datieren in eine Zeit zwischen dem 8. und 7. Jh. v. Chr.³³ Die kelendrinschen Teller sind wohl aber etwas später, im 6. Jh. v. Chr. gefertigt worden.

Einen weiteren Hinweis auf die Beziehungen zwischen Kilikien und Phönizien/Syrien geben auch Terrakotten, die in einer Quelle bei der Kreisstadt Gözce nahe Kelenderis gefunden wurden (Abb. 5 Nr. 12-13).³⁴ Die mit den Händen die Brust umfassenden 'Astarte-Typen', matrizengepreßt und hohl sowie massiv, sind phönizisch-syrischen Ursprungs. Die Rückseiten wurden nur grob zu einer Basis geglättet. Vergleichbare Stücke verweisen die Astarten aus Gözce in eine breite Zeitspanne vom Ende des 8. Jhs. bis in das 4. Jh. v. Chr.³⁵

Die hier behandelten Fundstücke phönizischen Ursprungs stammen zum großen Teil aus dem Rauhen Kilikien und können in Verbindung mit der assyrischen Provinz auf dem Gebiet des Ebenen Kilikiens (Que) in den Jahren 725-715 v. Chr. gesehen werden. Die starke Anwesenheit der Assyrier im Lande Que kann auch die Aktivierung der Einflüsse auf die Griechen und vielleicht auch auf die Phönizier Assurs im Rauhen Kilikien begründet haben.

Den archäologischen Funden zufolge haben die Phönizier, als sie im Westen Kolonien gegründet haben, auch in dem sowohl zu Wasser als auch über Land erreichbaren Kilikien ihre Spuren hinterlassen. Bei ihrer Fahrt in das westliche Mittelmeer mußten die Phönizier die kilikischen Küstenorte anlaufen, um dort Proviant zu ergänzen oder Schutz vor widrigem Wetter zu suchen. Außer phönizischen Kaufleuten, die zu Handelszwecken über den Meerweg kilikische Häfen aufsuchten, können die phönizischen Funde auch mit einer aus Phönizien ausgewanderten Bevölkerungsgruppe in Verbindung gebracht werden. Die Beziehungen des Rauhen Kilikiens mit Phönizien bestanden nach den hier vorliegenden Funden in einer Zeit zwischen dem 8. und 4. Jh. v. Chr.

Mit den verstärkten Forschungen in Kilikien



Abb. 5. Terrakotta des Astarte-Typs.

erhöht sich die Zahl der phönizischen Funde wie beispielsweise die neu entdeckte Amphore mit phönizischer Inschrift vom Kinethöyük.³⁶ Im Gegensatz zu anderen anatolischen Gebieten sind aber Forschungen zu phönizischen Funden in Kilikien noch beschränkt. Ausgrabungen fanden bislang hauptsächlich im Ebenen Kilikien statt, im Rauhen Kilikien werden nur in Kelenderis, Nagidos und Anemurion archäologische Grabungen durchgeführt. Mit den fortlaufenden Untersuchungen und dem zu erwartenden verstärkten Interesse an dieser Fundgruppe werden sich in den kommenden Jahren die phönizischen Belege in der Gegend ohne Zweifel vermehren.

KATALOG

- 1 Amphore mit Horizontalhenkel, Fundort Kelenderis, Aufbewahrung Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. K93. Ton D7, Höhe 61 cm.
- 2 Phönizische Amphore, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 6.2.64. Ton D11, Höhe 50 cm.
- 3 Phönizische Amphore, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 6.1.64. Ton D10, Höhe 49 cm.
- 4 Krug, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 1483. Ton F9, Höhe 40 cm.
- 5 Krug, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 2045. Ton F9, Höhe 38 cm.
- 6 Krug, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 1919. Ton F10, Höhe 37 cm.
- 7 Krug, Kelenderis, Museum Silifke, Inventarnr. 934. Ton F10, Höhe 31 cm.
- 8 Teller, Kelenderis. Grabungshaus Kelenderis. Ton C8 mit wenig feiner Sandmagerung, Durchmesser 20 cm, Höhe 2,5 cm. Polierte Oberfläche.
- 9 Teller, Kelenderis. Grabungshaus Kelenderis. Ton A9, Durchmesser 21 cm, Höhe 4 cm. Polierte Oberfläche.
- 10 Teller, Kelenderis. Grabungshaus Kelenderis. Ton F9, Durchmesser 30 cm, Höhe 6,6 cm. Polierte Oberfläche.

- 11 Teller, Kelenderis. Grabungshaus Kelenderis. Ton A8, Oberfläche außen C9, graue Bemalung. Durchmesser 18 cm, Höhe 5,5 cm. Auf dem Rand der Innenseite und im Spiegel aufgemalte Kreise.
- 12 Astarte, Sammlung M. Kayhan. Ton D11, Höhe 9,2 cm, Breite 2 cm. Matrizengeformt und massiv.
- 13 Astarte, Sammlung M. Kayhan. Ton D11, Höhe 8,8 cm, Breite 2 cm. Matrizengeformt und massiv.

ANMERKUNGEN

- * Alle Zeichnungen und Fotografien stammen vom Verfasser.
- ¹ Eine breit gefächerte Einführung zu diesem Thema findet sich bei: Niemeyer 1982.
 - ² Bing 1985, 104.
 - ³ Neumann 1979, 433-434.
 - ⁴ Masson 1974, 161.
 - ⁵ Xenophon erkennt Myriandos als syrische Niederlassung an und erwähnt, daß dort Phönizier lebten und im Hafen viele Handelsschiffe zu finden seien (Xenophon I. 4. 6); Strabon dagegen kennt Myriandos als Grenzstadt zwischen Syrien und Kilikien (Strabon, 14. 3. 19); Skylax 102. Zur phönizischen Kolonisation Kilikiens siehe: Movers 1967, 166-174.
 - ⁶ Zur Lage der Stadt Myriandos gibt es zwei unterschiedliche Ansichten: nach der einen ist diese mit dem 16 km von der Bucht entfernten Harami Çeşme zu identifizieren, obgleich es an dieser Stelle keine älteren Siedlungsspuren gibt. Die andere dagegen lokalisiert diese auf einem südwestlich der Bucht von Iskenderun gelegenen niedrigen Siedlungshügel mit hellenistischen Überresten. Siehe dazu: Müller 1997, 184.
 - ⁷ Der Vasallenkönig von Karatepe stellt sich selbst als Sklave Baals dar und erwähnt, daß Baal für die Danuier Vater und Mutter sei: Alt 1947, 274.
 - ⁸ Da Sandokos/Santa ursprünglich mit dem phönizischen Baal Melkart in Verbindung zu bringen ist, sollte die Möglichkeit der Gründung von Kelenderis durch aus Syrien kommende Phönizier nicht außer acht gelassen werden. Bei der Ausweitung der phönizischen Handelsnetze gegen Ende des 2. Jts. vom Osten des Mittelmeeres nach Westen hin haben die Phönizier auf dieser Reise sicherlich auch den Hafen von Kelenderis besucht oder sich gar an dieser Stelle niedergelassen (vgl. Zoroğlu 1994, 19ff.). Siehe weiterführend auch: Weippert 1969, 191-217.
 - ⁹ Hanfmann 1963, 447, 351.
 - ¹⁰ Alt 1956, 272-282; Weippert 1969; Matthie 1963; Lipinski 1985, 82; Lebrun 1987, 24-25; Lipinski 1995, 45.
 - ¹¹ Lemaire 1983, 9-19 Taf. 1; Lipinski 1985, 82-83; Lebrun 1987, 24-25; Lipinski 1995, 45.
 - ¹² Mosca/Russel 1987, 1-28; Lebrun 1987, 25.
 - ¹³ Röllig 1982, 98.
 - ¹⁴ Akurgal 1966, 138-139 Abb. 35; Matthiae 1963, 32 Taf. 21.
 - ¹⁵ Die seit der frühen Eisenzeit in Kilikien und auf Zypern auftretende und in die Literatur unter 'Zypriotische Keramik' eingegangene Keramikgattung kann auch mit einer aus Syrien ausgewanderten Bevölkerung in Verbindung gebracht werden, von denen der eine Teil nach Zypern, der andere dagegen nach Kilikien einwanderte. Vgl. hierzu: Gjerstad 1934, 200.
 - ¹⁶ Zoroğlu 1996, 269, 276, Abb. 11.
 - ¹⁷ Bauchige eiförmige Amphoren mit Flachboden, deren Querhenkel die Mündung nicht überragen, werden als frühe Formen verstanden. Bei der späteren Variante ist der Körper schlanker und länger mit einem spitzen

- Bodenabschluß. Amphoren mit Aufhängehenkel haben eine Größe zwischen 57-85 cm. Vgl. hierzu: Briend/Humbert 1980, 136. 138 Abb. 40a, b.
- ¹⁸ Gjerstad 1960, 120.
 - ¹⁹ Sagona 1982, 88-89, Abb. 4, 1; Karageorghis 1974, 121 Taf. 16,1.
 - ²⁰ Auf der Schulter der Amphore mit Hängehenkel ist die Inschrift 'Olivenöl' aufgebracht: Hadjisavvas 1996, 133-134 Abb. 2a-b.
 - ²¹ Die Amphore aus Tell Keisan wurde aus Zypern importiert: Briend/Humbert 1980, 140.
 - ²² Niemeier 1999, 391-392 Abb. 20.
 - ²³ Gjerstad 1960, 121 Abb. 15.
 - ²⁴ Grace 1956, 80-109; Zoroğlu 1994, 63, Abb. 77-78; Şenol/Kerem 2000, 83-84 Taf. 14, 1-2.
 - ²⁵ Sagona 1982, 80, 82 Abb. 2, 3 Typ 6; Stern 1978, 33 Abb. 6, 2; Bartoloni 1988, 502 (datiert auf das 7. Jh.); Chelbi 1991, 722. 724-725 Typ 5 Abb. 5 a-d (2. und 3. Viertel des 7. Jhs.).
 - ²⁶ Sagona 1982, 85 Abb. 2, 8 Typ 7; Bikai 1987, Taf. 23, 585.
 - ²⁷ Gjerstad 1960, 121 Abb. 16, 8-10; Karageorghis 1967, 40. 53 Taf. 41, 101; Masson/Szyncer 1972, 112-114. 131 Taf. 8, 2. Taf. 15, 3. Taf. 29, 2; Stern 1978, 33 Abb. 6, 1-3; Briend/Humbert 1980, Taf. 23, 1-6. Taf. 127, 24; Sagona 1982, 80-81, 88-89 Abb. 2, 1-4. Abb. 4, 1; Bikai 1978, 68, Taf. 3, 8; Bondi 1988, 502; Chelbi 1991, 722-732 Typ 3-9 Abb. 4-9; Lehmann 1996, 433 Taf. 71; 383, 1-3 Taf. 72, 384, 1-3.
 - ²⁸ Bei den Krügen Typ A ist der Übergang zur Schulter durch den eng gestalteten Hals deutlich betont. Sie besitzen eine kleeblattförmige Mündung. Typ B zeichnet sich durch einen konischen Hals und einen birnenförmigen Körper aus. Auf dem Übergang zur Schulter sitzt ein plastisches Band. Die Mündung ist pilzförmig gestaltet. Typ C dagegen hat eine protomförmige Mündung. Vgl. hierzu: Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 162-164 Abb. 1-5.
 - ²⁹ Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 185, 208, 210-211.
 - ³⁰ Bikai 1978, Taf. 16, 373-374, 384, 388; Bartoloni 1988, 496 (datiert in das 8. Jh.), 501 (datiert in das 6. Jh.).
 - ³¹ Gubel 1990, 78.
 - ³² Schubart 1976, 179-196; Tomico 1989, 118-134 Abb. 2-6.
 - ³³ Schubart 1976, 186-187 Taf. 31; Tomico 1989, 25-26.
 - ³⁴ In Gözce sind neben den weiblichen Astarten auch 'Snow men-' und Adoranten-Figuren zylindrischer Form zypriotischen Ursprungs gefunden worden. Die beiden Statuettentypen zeigen, daß an einem Heiligtum das Volk in Kilikien sowohl von zypriotischen als auch von phönizischen Strömungen beeinflusst wird. Siehe hierzu: Arslan 2001, 215-242.
 - ³⁵ Winte 1903, 19 Abb. 5; Woolley 1939, 153 Abb. 28; Ziegler 1962; Schmidt 1968, 9; Karageorghis 1976, 206 Taf. 34 e; Karageorghis 1987, 50 Taf. 12, 57; Decaudin 1987, 161 Taf. 62, 128; Böhm 1990, 108; Ikosi 1993, 20-21 Abb. 9-12; Riis 1948, 70-73 Taf. 16, 1-6; Legrain 1930, Taf. 9, 59; Wrede 1990, Taf. 8, 10.
 - ³⁶ Gates 2004, 408 Abb. 8.

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ONSEKİZ MART ÜNİVERSİTESİ
FEN-EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ ARKEOLOJİ BÖLÜMÜ
ÇANAKKALE - TÜRKİYE

Das Heraion in Olympia und sein Säulenkranz

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Zusammenfassung

*Direkte Hinweise bautechnischer Art und eine indirekte Notiz aus Pausanias beweisen, dass das Heraion in Olympia ursprünglich eine Peristasis aus Holzsäulen besessen hat. Aufgrund der variierenden Schaft- und Kapitellformen der erhaltenen Steinsäulen wurde einhellig geschlossen, dass die Holzsäulen sukzessive ersetzt worden sind. Offen blieb lediglich die Frage, ob dies infolge Baufälleigkeit oder unabhängig davon durch Votive geschah. Indizien technischer Art führen zu dem überraschenden Ergebnis, dass die Säulen einerseits zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten gefertigt, andererseits aber in einem einzigen Arbeitsgang versetzt worden sein müssen. Zwar war die Versetzung voll ausgearbeiteter Bauglieder in der Antike nicht die Regel, doch gibt es genügend Hinweise materieller und literarischer Art zu einem derartigen Vorgehen.**

Das Heraion im Heiligtum des Zeus zu Olympia¹ (Abb. 1) gibt der Forschung auch mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach seiner Wiederentdeckung noch mancherlei Rätsel auf. Andererseits haben sich manche Deutungen offenbar bis zur Gewissheit verfestigt. Dazu gehört die These, die ursprünglich verwendeten Holzsäulen der Peristasis (6x16) seien später durch solche aus dem lokal gewonnenen Muschelkalk ersetzt worden; nur die hölzernen Säulen der Cella, die möglicherweise Steinkapitelle getragen haben, sind demnach nie ausgewechselt worden.² Zwar schweigt Pausanias bei der Beschreibung des Baues und seiner Ausstattung über dieses Faktum, doch leiteten dies die Forscher aus seiner Notiz ab,³ im Opisthodom stehe zu seiner Zeit noch eine Säule aus Eichenholz. Als Beweis für die Existenz primärer Holzsäulen können in der Tat die sichelförmigen Einkerbungen auf dem Stylobat angesehen werden,⁴ welche nur so zu erklären sind, dass sie die Aufstellung erleichtert haben.⁵ Neben dem weiten Intercolumnium (max. 3,63 m) kann als weiteres Indiz gelten, dass vom Gebälk keine Spuren gefunden wurden, dieses also ebenfalls aus Holz gewesen sein dürfte.⁶ Demnach stellen die heute sichtbaren Steinsäulen der Peristasis in der Tat einen Ersatz dar.⁷ Strittig ist bisher nur, ob ihre hölzernen Vorgänger wegen erfolgter Stiftungen unabhängig vom Zustand der jeweiligen Säule⁸ oder wegen Baufälleigkeit⁹ ausgetauscht worden sind.¹⁰ Einig ist sich die Forschung allerdings darin, dass dies einzeln oder in kleinen Gruppen nach und nach geschah;¹¹ dafür sprächen allein schon die Vielfalt der Säulen- und Kapitellformen¹² sowie die variierende Porosqualität der Schäfte.¹³

Nach unserer Kenntnis gibt es überhaupt nur wenige Tempel der Archaik, deren Peristasis ur-

sprünglich mindestens partiell aus Holzsäulen bestanden hat.¹⁴ Als Beweis können wiederum die sichelförmigen Einkerbungen auf dem Stylobat dienen,¹⁵ die schon beim olympischen Heraion beobachtet worden sind. Zumindest in zwei Fällen lassen sich sowohl Stein- als auch Holzsäulen offenbar derselben archaischen Bauphase zuweisen: am Südtempel¹⁶ und am Nordtempel¹⁷ von Kalapodi. Kreisförmige Erhebungen wurden als Hinweise für Holzsäulen der archaischen Tempel von Thermos¹⁸ und Ephesos¹⁹ gewertet.²⁰ Letztere wurden zudem bei archaischen Tempeln dann postuliert, wenn sich zwar Steinkapitelle, aber keine Säulenreste erhalten haben.²¹ Dies trifft auch für den frühhellenistischen Tempel von Kallion zu, auf dessen steinernen Peristasis-Basen demnach Holzsäulen gestanden haben dürften.²² Möglicherweise gibt es auch den umgekehrten Fall. So wurden auf Samos im Fundament des Hera-Tempels IV (sog. Dipteros des Polykrates) zahlreiche Säulentrommeln des älteren Hera-Tempels III (sog. Rhoikos-Tempel) entdeckt, dagegen keine Reste von Kapitellen und Architraven; diese dachte man sich folglich aus Holz gefertigt.²³

Nicht nur beim olympischen Heraion,²⁴ auch bei einzelnen griechischen Steintempeln sind gelegentlich Säulen mit Trommeln unterschiedlichen Umfanges bzw. wechselnder Kannelurenzahl sowie mit verschiedenartigen Kapitellformen anzutreffen.²⁵ In der Regel lässt sich dies auf eine überlange Bauzeit zurückführen, in der sich manche Architekturformen weiterentwickelt haben,²⁶ ein gradueller Ersatz hölzerner Architekturteile durch steinerne muss deswegen nicht vorliegen.²⁷ Von vorneherein ist ein wechselnder Säulendurchmesser dann jedoch beabsichtigt, wenn sich

Säulengruppen mit einander entsprechenden Maßen klar auf Front oder Flanken oder Pronaos verteilen lassen.²⁸

Ob die Verschiedenartigkeit der Säulen - darunter auch tordierter - des Nordtempels von Kalapodi²⁹ trotz offenbar einheitlicher Bauphase (ca. Mitte 6. Jh.v.Chr.) ebenfalls durch den jeweiligen Aufstellungsort oder durch unterschiedliche, aber ungefähr gleichzeitige Stiftungen und Ateliers bedingt war, lässt sich nicht mehr klären. Uneinig ist sich die Forschung hinsichtlich der Bauphasen des hellenistischen Apollon-Tempels in Thermos. So werden entweder nur Holzsäulen (ohne späteren Ersatz?) angenommen³⁰ oder es wird aufgrund differenzierter Stilformen deren allmählicher Austausch durch steinerne Vertreter postuliert³¹ oder die Peristasis soll von Anfang an aus Steinsäulen bestanden haben.³² In einer neuen Untersuchung wird sogar vermutet, die untersten Trommeln, die sich zudem in zwei Gruppen - archaisch-wiederverwendet und hellenistisch - scheiden lassen, seien jeweils aus Stein, der auf ihnen stehende Schaft aber aus Holz gewesen.³³

Halten wir fest: Zwar lassen sich auch außerhalb Olympias Tempel mit hölzerner Säulenperistasis nachweisen, doch fehlt bis heute jeder sichere Beleg dafür, dass Holzsäulen sukzessive durch Steinsäulen ersetzt worden wären, immer entschied man sich für einen vollständigen Neubau.

Betreffs des Heraions in Olympia ergibt sich die in der Forschung bisher offenbar nicht gestellte Frage, auf welche Weise der Ersatz technisch hätte bewerkstelligt werden können. Grundsätzlich war dies zwar möglich, doch hätte dazu das Dach ganz oder in großen Teilen entfernt werden müssen.

Dies lässt sich für den Zeus-Tempel in Olympia erweisen, denn dort sind nicht nur die durch ein Erdbeben beschädigten Giebelskulpturen, sondern auch die verschobenen Säulentrommeln und Kapitelle repariert bzw. ausgetauscht worden.³⁴ Offen bleiben muss, wie umfangreich die baulichen Eingriffe an der östlichen Porticus des Augustus-Forums in Rom gewesen sind, als in hadrianischer Zeit ein Ersatzkapitell eingefügt wurde.³⁵ Hingegen dürfte der Austausch von Säulenbasen am Tempel des Portunus auf dem Forum Boarium nicht, wie neuerdings vermutet,³⁶ in augusteischer Zeit stattgefunden haben, sondern der Restaurierungsphase von 1830 zuzurechnen sein.³⁷

Für unseren Zusammenhang besonders interessant ist die Überlieferung, das Dachgebälk des Bouleuterions von Kyzikos sei ohne Eisennägel so konstruiert, dass Balken ohne Abstützung entfernt und wieder eingefügt werden könnten; dasselbe hat nach Plinius auch für den *pons sublicius* in Rom gegolten.³⁸ Unklar bleibt, was von der Nachricht Ciceros zu halten ist, wonach auf Betreiben des Verres vom Castor-Tempel auf dem Forum



Abb. 1. Olympia, Heraion, Gesamtansicht von Osten (Foto Archäologisches Institut der Universität Erlangen).

Romanum Säulen ohne große Kosten unter Anwendung einer Hebemaschine abgetragen und aus denselben Steinen wieder aufgeführt worden sind.³⁹ Cicero schiebt wie nebenbei nach, manche Säule sei vom Unternehmer gar nicht angerührt worden, manch andere habe nur eine neue Stuckierung erhalten. Nicht ausgeschlossen ist daher, dass Ciceros Hinweis auf die geringen Kosten für die Leser den Schluss nahelegte, die geschilderte Arbeit habe gar nicht stattgefunden, nur ließ sich dies eben damals nicht beweisen.

Besteht jedoch eine Säule aus mehreren schweren Trommeln oder handelt es sich gar um einen Monolith, so sind aufwändige Kräne für die Aufstellung unabdingbar.⁴⁰ Dass die Säulentrommeln des Heraions im Gegensatz zu den Kapitellen zumindest in ihrer großen Mehrheit nicht durch Unterschieben,⁴¹ sondern mittels Hebemaschinen aufeinander gesetzt worden sein müssen, beweisen zahlreiche zentrale Dübellöcher.⁴²

Sogleich aber drängt sich die Frage auf, wie jeweils die oberste Trommel und das Kapitell hätten an ihren Platz gebracht werden sollen, da sie wegen des vorhandenen Holzgebälkes nicht durch einen Kran von oben hätten herabgelassen werden können. Immerhin wäre es denkbar, dass die Kapitelle an West-, Süd- und Ostseite mittels Hebegerät oder Rampe unter den leicht angehobenen hölzernen Architrav geschoben wurden. Mangels

ausreichenden Raumes aber ist der Ersatz einzelner Holz- durch Steinsäulen auf der dem Kronos-Hügel zugewandten Nordseite des Tempels nicht vorstellbar. Der Abstand zur treppenförmigen Futtermauer am Fuße des Hügels, deren Anlage beim Tempelbau unbedingt nötig war, damit der Erdschub aufgefangen würde,⁴³ beträgt nämlich nur weniger als 2 m (Abb. 2) und ist somit zu schmal für entsprechendes Hebegerät oder eine Rampe. Vollends unmöglich ist angesichts der an dieser Seite herrschenden Enge die Einzelaufstellung einer monolithen Säule (der sechsten von Westen), deren gebrochener Schaft erhalten geblieben ist.⁴⁴

Nach unserer heutigen Kenntnis der technischen Möglichkeiten in der Antike ist davon auszugehen, dass der Austausch der Säulen zumindest an der Nordseite des Heraions ohne massive Eingriffe in die Dachkonstruktion nicht bewältigt werden konnte. Es erhebt sich sofort die Frage, ob man sich nicht bei jeder angenommenen Einzel- oder Gruppenstiftung⁴⁵ von Säulen der Mühe hätte unterziehen müssen, auch Teile des Daches aufwändig und kostenintensiv (zu wessen Lasten dann?) ab- und wieder aufzubauen.⁴⁶ Zudem wurde entgegen der fortwährenden Dachergänzungen in Olympia⁴⁷ die Bedeckung des Heraions offenbar bis zu ihrer Zerstörung in der späten Kaiserzeit niemals verändert;⁴⁸ dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, dass beide



Abb. 2. Olympia, Heraion, Nordseite mit Stützmauer des Kronoshügels (Foto Verfasser).

große Giebelakroterien⁴⁹ in Verwendung gewesen sein müssen, bis sie in einer spätantiken Mauer verbaut worden sind.⁵⁰ Aber selbst nach Abtragung eines Teiles der Dachkonstruktion wäre die Errichtung des monolithen Schaftes an der Tempelnordseite nicht möglich gewesen. Dazu hätten auch seitlich anschließende Säulen entfernt werden müssen, da sie den Arbeitsvorgang behindert hätten. Platz für das ausladende Hebegerät⁵¹ hätte dort nämlich nur auf dem Stylobat bestanden. Falls außerdem die Beobachtung zutreffen sollte,⁵² dass die Steinsäulen z.T. nicht genau die durch die sichelförmigen Einarbeitungen festgelegten Positionen der Holzsäulen eingenommen haben, wäre ein weiterer Hinweis darauf gewonnen, dass kein Einzelaustausch stattgefunden hat.⁵³

Der geschilderte Sachverhalt führt nun zwangsläufig zu dem überraschenden Schluss, dass die Steinsäulen zwar zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten gefertigt, aber offenbar erst mit den zuletzt im späteren Hellenismus⁵⁴ oder gar in der Kaiserzeit⁵⁵ hergestellten Exemplaren versetzt worden sind. In der Regel wurden Kapitelle direkt vor dem Versetzen am Bestimmungsort, Säulenschaft dagegen erst endgültig ausgearbeitet, nachdem sie an ihrem vorherbestimmten Platz errichtet worden waren; so wurde die Gefahr von irreparablen Beschädigungen beim Transport oder Hebevorgang weitestgehend vermieden.⁵⁶ Allerdings lassen sich Ausnahmen finden.

Aus uns unbekannten Gründen wurden die Trommeln des archaischen Porostempels der Aphaia auf Ägina bereits vor dem Versetzen kanalisiert.⁵⁷ Bei Stiftungen an entfernten Orten konnten die Architekturteile bereits am Heimatort des Auftraggebers vorgefertigt, mit Markierungen versehen an den Bestimmungsort verbracht und dort zusammengesetzt werden. Dies lässt sich für die Eumenes-Stoa in Athen (170/60 v.Chr.) erweisen⁵⁸ und für die Schatzhäuser von Spina in Delphi⁵⁹ sowie von Sikyon⁶⁰ und Gela⁶¹ in Olympia wahrscheinlich machen. Dasselbe gilt wohl auch mindestens für das Dach des Artemis-Tempels in Kalydon.⁶² Außerdem wurden für das sog. Girlandengrab offenbar einzelne Architekturteile vollkommen ausgearbeitet nach Pompeji verbracht.⁶³ Versetzung bereits voll ausgearbeiteter Bauglieder findet sich zudem bei Gebäuden, die abgebrochen und an anderer Stelle ganz oder teilweise wieder aufgebaut wurden.⁶⁴ Hier sind der Altar des Zeus Agoraios⁶⁵ sowie drei Tempel⁶⁶ auf der Athener Agora zu nennen, nämlich der Ares-Tempel,⁶⁷ der sog. Südwest-Tempel⁶⁸ und der sog. Südost-Tempel.⁶⁹ Gleiches ist für den archaischen Tempelrest in Thessaloniki, dessen Bauglieder

Buchstabenmarken der frühen Kaiserzeit tragen,⁷⁰ sowie für die archaischen Säulenmonolithe am Westende der Südtoa in Korinth zu vermuten, die einen Aquaedukt der Kaiserzeit getragen haben.⁷¹ Möglicherweise aus Kassope wurde bei der Umsiedlung in augusteischer Zeit ein Tempel nach Nikopolis übertragen;⁷² mitgenommen wurden offenbar auch Türen und Fenster sowie Dachziegel von Privathäusern und einer Stoa.⁷³ Ionische Kapitelle, die zum Abtransport bereit gestellt waren, blieben erstaunlicherweise in Kassope liegen.⁷⁴ Von einem hellenistischen Bau wurde ein korinthisches Kapitell sicher zwecks Wiederverwendung nach Nikopolis überführt.⁷⁵

Große Teile der Echohalle in Olympia stammen von einem älteren Hallenbau unbekannter Provenienz.⁷⁶ Das Propylon des Nordwesteingangs in die frühhellenistische Palaestra von Olympia ist in späthellenistischer Zeit angebaut worden, stammt aber von einem älteren Bau und wurde hierher übertragen.⁷⁷ Gleiches gilt für die sog. Gefangenenfassade in Korinth, die zuerst ein Bauwerk augusteischer Zeit und sekundär die Nordbasilika des 2. Jh.n.Chr. schmückte.⁷⁸ Dass des öfteren Teile des Vorgängermonumentes beim Neubau eines Tempels wiederverwendet wurden, ist nahe liegend und bedarf keiner Nachweise.⁷⁹ Mehrfach wurden von antiken Tempeln nur die Fundamente entdeckt, dagegen überhaupt keine oder zumindest keine nennenswerten Reste des Oberbaues, z.B. in Eretria⁸⁰ und in Ephesos;⁸¹ in diesen Fällen sind die Bauglieder möglicherweise zum Aufbau an anderer Stelle abtransportiert worden. Außerdem berichten Inschriften vom Ab- und Wiederaufbau etlicher Tempel.⁸² Nicht zu entscheiden ist momentan, ob die Fassade des Thersilions in Megalopolis wiederverwendet oder nur komplett an anderem Ort hergestellt worden ist.⁸³

Antike Schriftquellen stützen das Faktum sekundärer Verwendung von Architekturteilen weit entfernt von ihrer primären Verbauung.⁸⁴ Vom Olympieion in Athen wurden, wie Plinius berichtet,⁸⁵ unter Sulla korinthische Marmorsäulen für die Tempel auf dem Kapitol nach Rom geschafft; allerdings wurden sie offensichtlich nicht - wie meist angenommen - für den durch Brand zerstörten Iuppiter-Tempel wiederverwendet, da spätere Münzen Säulen dorischer Ordnung zeigen.⁸⁶ Wiederverwendet wurden wohl auch die einzeln (?) verkauften Säulen des archaischen Artemision zu Ephesos, doch muss offen bleiben, wo dies geschah.⁸⁷

Die kanalisierten Säulen, die in mehreren antiken Schiffswracks entdeckt worden sind, sind wohl zum Zwecke der Zweitverwendung ver-

schifft worden;⁸⁸ dass dies auch für voll ausgearbeitete Basen und Kapitelle gilt, ist immerhin möglich.⁸⁹ Außerdem wurden bekanntlich ja nicht nur Halbfabrikate⁹⁰ von Sarkophagen über weite Strecken transportiert, sondern auch fertige Exemplare.⁹¹ Betreffs des Heraions in Olympia lässt sich auf die Tatsache verweisen, dass die Kannelierung der dritten Säule der Ostfront nicht wie gewöhnlich bis zur Unterkante des Schaftes durchgeführt wurde, sondern ein glatter Fußring stehen blieb; am ehesten ist dies damit zu erklären, dass die Arbeit bereits vor dem Versetzen stattfand, eine vollständige Ausarbeitung dann aber unterblieb.⁹²

Die Belege zeigen jedenfalls, dass es kein unlösbares Problem war, voll ausgearbeitete Architekturteile, darunter auch Säulen und Säulentrommeln, zu transportieren und zu versetzen. Weil davon auszugehen ist, dass die Bauglieder des Heraions in Olympia, die aus dem dort anstehenden Muschelkalk bestehen, nachträglich mit Stuck überzogen wurden, ergab sich zudem bei einer etwaigen Beschädigung leicht die Möglichkeit, die Schadensstelle auf diese Weise zu kaschieren.

Ist es also vorstellbar, dass die Säulen - völlig ausgearbeitet - teilweise über Jahrhunderte gesammelt im Heiligtum zu Olympia standen und auf ihre geplante Verwendung warteten?

Platz dafür gab es jedenfalls in der Altis.⁹³ Dass Säulen zudem nicht immer nur ein tragender Teil eines Architekturverbundes sein müssen, ist bekannt: Seit archaischer Zeit konnten sie als Weihgeschenksträger dienen,⁹⁴ später Basen für Ehrenstatuen bilden.⁹⁵ Außerdem begegnen sie als Grabkennzeichen.⁹⁶ Bemerkenswerterweise sind jedoch auch archaische Kapitelle ohne Dübel- oder Stemmloch bzw. ohne eine Plinthenbettung erhalten. Sie können demnach nichts getragen haben und dürften zu einzeln stehenden Säulen, die das Motiv an sich bildeten, gehört haben.⁹⁷ Ein Exemplar wurde in Olympia gefunden.⁹⁸ Außerdem befand sich dort nach Aussage des Pausanias zu seiner Zeit eine durch ein eigenes Dach geschützte Holzsäule, deren Stamm durch Metallbänder zusammengehalten wurde.⁹⁹ Gemäß Überlieferung blieb sie als einzige vom abgebrannten Haus des Oinomaos übrig.¹⁰⁰ Desgleichen finden sich bei dem Periegeten verstreute Hinweise auf Einzelsäulen, die weder zu einem Bauverbund gehören noch ein Motiv- oder Sepulkraldenkmal getragen haben.¹⁰¹ Zudem will Pausanias mit eigenen Augen hinter dem Tempel des Zeus Olympios zu Megara halbbearbeitete Hölzer gesehen haben, die eigentlich für das Kultbild des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. vorgesehen waren.¹⁰² Falls man der Nachricht überhaupt Glauben schenken will,

müssten die Hölzer zumindest vor Witterungseinflüssen weitestgehend geschützt gewesen sein.¹⁰³ Tatsächlich gibt es eindeutige literarische und materielle Belege dafür, dass Architekturteile Jahrhunderte lang in Heiligtümern gelagert wurden.

Im Jahre 173 v.Chr. hatte der Censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus Dachziegel vom Heiligtum der Juno Lacinia in Kroton für den Bau des Tempels der Fortuna Equitum nach Rom schaffen lassen. Diese wurden jedoch auf Senatsbeschluss restituiert. Da sich jedoch kein Fachmann finden ließ, der sie wieder an ihren originalen Platz hätte zurücklegen können, wurden sie im Tempelareal abgelegt;¹⁰⁴ dort befanden sie sich noch bei der Freilegung des Temenos.¹⁰⁵

Die ursprüngliche Statuengruppe vom Ostgiebel des spätarchaischen Tempels der Aphaia auf Ägina war aus uns unbekannten Gründen nach kurzer Zeit wieder entfernt und durch eine jüngere Gruppe ersetzt worden. Da die Skulpturen dieses überzähligen Giebels aber nur an der Vorderseite witterungsbedingte Korrosionsspuren aufweisen, ist davon auszugehen, dass sie - zusammen mit einem noch nicht versetzten Mittelakroter - in einer Art ebenerdigen Giebelfeld aufgestellt waren.¹⁰⁶

Ein vergleichbarer Fall liegt vielleicht in Eretria vor. Zahlreiche Fragmente der spätarchaischen Giebelskulpturen sind in der Antike in einer Aufschüttung an der Nordseite des Tempels des Apollon Daphnephoros sakral deponiert worden;¹⁰⁷ eine Bogen spannende Amazone, die offensichtlich zu diesem Ensemble gehört hat, kam überraschenderweise in den Horti Sallustiani zu Rom ans Licht.¹⁰⁸ Sollte die Vermutung zutreffen, dass die Giebelskulpturen des Tempels des Apollo Sosianus in Rom vormals die Giebel des im mittleren 5. Jh.v.Chr. neu erbauten Apollon-Daphnephoros-Tempels in Eretria geschmückt haben,¹⁰⁹ so kann die Amazone der vorangegangenen Ausstattungsphase nicht direkt vom Bau nach Italien überführt worden sein, da sich Kunstimport aus Griechenland erst ab dem 2. Jh.v.Chr. nachweisen lässt.¹¹⁰ Entweder haben die Römer - was nach literarischen Quellen durchaus möglich war¹¹¹ - die Statue ihrem Erddepot in Eretria entnommen oder sie war wegen ihres guten Erhaltungszustands gar nicht vergraben, sondern im Heiligtumsbereich aufgestellt worden.¹¹² Hinsichtlich des Tempels IV (sog. Dipteros des Polykrates) im Heraion zu Samos wurde die Vermutung geäußert, auf den hellenistischen Säulen der äußeren Peristasis befänden sich spätarchaische Kapitelle, die unversehrt Jahrhunderte lang im Heiligtum gelegen hätten.¹¹³



Abb. 3. Olympia, Heraion, Südseite
(Foto Verfasser).



Abb. 5. Poseidonia - Paestum, Votivsäule nordöstlich
des Athena-Tempels (nach Doepner 2002 Abb. 147).



Abb. 4. Olympia, Heraion, Säule an Südostecke
(Foto Verfasser).

Unzählige fertig zugehauene Holzbalken spendierten hellenistische Könige den Rhodiern zum Wiederaufbau nach dem verheerenden Erdbeben von 227/26 v.Chr.¹¹⁴ Bis zu ihrem Einsatz mussten die Bauhölzer mindestens zeitweise deponiert werden. Im 1. Jh.v.Chr. bat Cicero seinen Freund

Atticus brieflich, Säulen für das Grabmal seiner Tochter Tullia in Athen zu erwerben, obwohl damals weder eine Entscheidung über den Ort noch das Aussehen des Baues getroffen worden war.¹¹⁵ Es war also wohl daran gedacht, die Säulen bis zu ihrer endgültigen Verwendung zwischenzulagern.¹¹⁶

Aufgrund der genannten Beispiele lässt sich somit betreffs des Heraions in Olympia festhalten, dass die zeitweilige Aufstellung von Baugliedern außerhalb des Architekturverbundes keinen Sonderfall darstellen würde. Hinzu treten weitere Indizien: Einzelne Holzsäulen des Heraions sind kaum wegen Schadhaftheit ersetzt worden, da der Austausch nach Aussage der Kapitellformen bereits im 6. Jh.v.Chr. - also nicht lange nach Baubeginn - hätte beginnen und sich mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend hinziehen müssen. Zudem dürften Einzelaufstellungen innerhalb der Peristasis deshalb nicht vorliegen, da die Steinsäulen offenbar nicht genau die Stelle der Holzsäulen eingenommen haben;¹¹⁷ Errichtungen in Gruppen sind ebenfalls auszuschließen, weil Säulen gleicher Art und Zeitstellung in der Regel nicht nebeneinander stehen.¹¹⁸ Es bleibt somit nur die Annahme, dass die einzeln oder in Gruppen gestifteten Säulen hergestellt und im Temenos gesammelt wurden. Wahrscheinlich geschah dies nicht in geschlossenen Depots, sondern die Säulen waren frei - auf Einzelfundamenten? - aufgestellt und wurden erst sekundär in einem einzigen Arbeitsgang versetzt.¹¹⁹ Nur so ist nämlich zu verstehen, wieso das Heraion etliche Grundrissmerkmale aufweist, die seiner Zeit¹²⁰ um nahezu ein Jahrhundert voraus sind, z.B. Lage der Cella im Zentrum des Bauwerks, enge Bindung an den Säulenkranz und Kontraktion der Eckjoche. Dies ist der Forschung zwar schon seit langem

aufgefallen,¹²¹ aber man begnügte sich damit, dieses Faktum einfach zu konstatieren. Alle genannten Besonderheiten lassen sich jedoch ohne Zwang mit dem späten, in einem einzigen Zuge erfolgten Ersatz der Säulen-Peristasis in Einklang bringen.

Ein vergleichbarer Fall liegt möglicherweise auf Delos vor. Im Rahmen der Verschönerung des Heiligtums der Syrischen Gottheiten wurden in der großen Portikus originale Säulen und Kapitelle aus Poros durch solche aus Marmor ersetzt.¹²² Dies bezeugt eine Inschrift auf einer der beiden Marmorsäulen.¹²³ Zudem tragen mehrere der Kapitelle Aufschriften verschiedener Stifter.¹²⁴ Dafür, dass der Ersatz der Säulen samt Kapitellen nicht peu à peu, sondern ebenfalls in einem einzigen Arbeitsgang vorgenommen wurde, könnte sprechen, dass die Schäfte nun, anders als bei den Poros-Säulen, Monolithe sind;¹²⁵ technisch wären Trommeln bei einem Austausch sicher leichter zu handhaben gewesen.

Und ein letzter Punkt wird erst unter dieser Prämisse voll verständlich: die Einlassungen, die sich auffälligerweise an zahlreichen Säulen der West-, Süd- und Osthalle des Heraions massieren. Meist werden sie mit einer Nachricht des Pausanias in Zusammenhang gebracht,¹²⁶ nach der hier die Siegerinnen in den Heraien¹²⁷ ihre Bildnisse anbringen durften.¹²⁸ Dies ist allein schon aus konservatorischen Gründen unwahrscheinlich, denn hier wären die - wohl wie üblich - auf Holztafeln gemalten Porträts den Wetterunbilden voll ausgesetzt gewesen.¹²⁹ Zudem haben die Einlassungen zwar meist die Form von Quadraten oder Längsrechtecken (Abb. 3), doch kommen auch mehrere mit einem Giebel und Akroterien bzw. mit einem Giebel allein vor (Abb. 4). Von den beiden letztgenannten Formen lässt sich die eine für Porträtmalerei überhaupt nicht nachweisen,¹³⁰ die andere offensichtlich nur einmal.¹³¹ Gerade Säulen aber sind in der Antike bevorzugt die Träger von Stifterinschriften, falls es sich um architektonische Teilstiftungen handelt.¹³² Und bronzene Inschrifttafeln weisen oft einen Giebel mit seitlichen Akroterien auf,¹³³ so auch ein hellenistischer Beleg aus Olympia.¹³⁴ Daher sind in den insgesamt 23 erhaltenen Vertiefungen am ehesten Bronzetafeln mit Stiftungs tituli anzunehmen.¹³⁵ Diese Summe liegt immerhin unterhalb der maximalen Zahl von 40 gestifteten Säulen der Peristasis, doch muss offen bleiben, ob alle Vertiefungen erhalten sind.¹³⁶ Außerdem ist angesichts einiger gleichzeitiger Säulen- und Kapitellformen damit zu rechnen, dass vielleicht der eine oder andere Stifter mehr als nur eine Säule gespendet

hat. Befremdlich wirkt im ersten Augenblick die Vorstellung, dass die Stifterinschriften nicht schon bei der losen Einzelaufstellung angebracht worden sind. Allerdings müssen Votivsäulen nicht notwendigerweise Dedikanteninschriften tragen. Als Beweis kann ein dorisches Exemplar im nördlichen Stadtheiligtum von Poseidonia - Paestum dienen (Abb. 5);¹³⁷ das Kapitell dieser Säule weist zudem weder eine Plintheneinlassung noch Dübellöcher zur Befestigung eines Votivgegenstandes auf.¹³⁸ Außerdem gibt es Steininschriften, in denen auch Säulenstiftungen genannt sind,¹³⁹ so dass der Schluss nahe liegt, diese Verzeichnisse ersetzen die Einzeltituli am Votiv. Es zeugt schon von Weitsicht der Verantwortlichen, die Stifterinschriften erst nach dem Versetzen am Heraion angebracht zu haben, denn auf diese Weise konnte vermieden werden, dass auch Säulen der Nordseite Tituli trugen, die aber kaum ein Besucher jemals hätte lesen können. Durch die Akkumulation an den Schauseiten des Tempels wurde allen Stiftern gleiches Recht zuteil:¹⁴⁰ ein überraschendes Faktum für eine Planung über Jahrhunderte hinweg, die nur im sakralen Bereich möglich war.

ANMERKUNGEN

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¹ Zur Interpretation des Tempels allg. s. zuletzt Arafat 1995; Moustaka 2002a; Moustaka 2002b.

² Mallwitz 1966, 324-325 Anm. 22; Herrmann 1972, 239 Anm. 379; Kalpaxis 1975, 95; Kalpaxis 1976, 55; Sinn 1981, 55 Anm. 118.

³ Paus. 5.16.1: Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρῦος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κίωνων ἐστὶ.

⁴ Dörpfeld 1935, 179-183 Abb. 47-48; Mallwitz 1966, 319-322; Herrmann 1972, 338 Anm. 375; Mallwitz 1972, 142.

⁵ Dörpfeld 1935, 180-181 Abb. 48; Mallwitz 1972, 142 Abb. 113; Felsch 2001, 9 Abb. 6.

⁶ Dörpfeld 1892, 30; Gardiner 1925, 210; Herrmann 1972, 95; Mallwitz 1972, 141, 143; Kalpaxis 1976, 55; Gruben 2001, 53.

⁷ Zweifelnd unverständlicherweise Sinn 2001, 63-64.

⁸ Furtwängler 1907, 476; Weickert 1929, 38; Dinsmoor 1950, 54; Hampe 1938, 359-360; Riemann 1946-1947, 51; Robertson 1954, 63-64; Schefold 1973, 94; Williams 1984, 69; Gruben 1996, 411; Buchert 2000, 274; Gruben 2001, 53.

⁹ Dörpfeld 1922, 35; Searls/Dinsmoor 1945, 73; Knell 1980, 18.

¹⁰ Nach Coulton 1974 b, 73 wurde nur ein Versuch oder Irrtum korrigiert (trial or error)! In ähnlichem Sinne auch schon Rodenwaldt 1919, 183-184.

¹¹ Neben den in den Anm. 5-7 genannten Autoren vgl. auch Dörpfeld 1892, 29, 36; Wernicke 1894, 101-102; Gardiner 1925, 209-210; Riemann 1946-1947, 51; Jantzen 1963, 643; Herrmann 1972, 95; Mallwitz 1972, 142; Kalpaxis 1976, 53-54; Coulton 1977, 43-44; Knell 1980, 18; Sinn 1981, 55; Rumscheid 1999, 40.

¹² Nach Kalpaxis 1975, 96; 1976, 54 besaßen die originalen

- Holzsäulen bereits - heute nicht mehr erhaltene - Steinkapitelle. Nach von Gerkan 1948/49, 5 sollen die auf uns gekommenen Steinkapitelle gar auf den ursprünglichen Holzsäulen gesessen haben und dann auf den sekundären Steinsäulen wiederverwendet worden sein. Unerklärt bleibt dabei jedoch die große Variationsbreite der Kapitelle.
- 13 Dörpfeld 1892, 29.
 - 14 Amandry 1952, 223-224; Robertson 1954, 65-66; Martin 1965, 11-15; Østby 1986, 90 mit Anm. 42; 97; Felsch 1998, 226; Felsch 2001, 6-15. - Unglaublich ist eine Nachricht bei Plin. nat. 14.9: *Metaponti templum lunonis vitigeneis columnis stetit* (In Metapont stand ein Tempel der Juno mit Säulen aus Rebenholz.); Sulze 1936, 34.
 - 15 Delphi: Courby 1927, 171 Abb. 133; Dörpfeld 1935, 182; Østby 1986, 85, 97; Felsch 1998, 225-226 Taf. 17,1; Felsch 2001, 6-7 Abb. 3-4; Gruben 2001, 75. - Kyrene: Pernier 1935, 18, 20 Abb. 13, 19, 20; Felsch 2001, 7. - Mykene: Felsch 2001, 11-12 Abb. 8. - Tegea: Norman 1984, 171 Taf. 29, 3; Østby 1986, 84-85 Abb. 10, 14 - 17; Østby 1994, 44 Fig. 4 Taf. 19 b; Østby 1997, 84 Abb. 6; Felsch 2001, 7; Gruben 2001, 136. - Unsicher ist, ob der Hera-Tempel I in Argos Holzsäulen besessen hat: Kalpaxis 1976, 46-47; anders Felsch 2001, 5.
 - 16 Mit sichelförmigen Einkerbungen auf dem Stylobat: Touchais 1980, 627; Catling 1981, 24; Williams 1984, 69; Østby 1986, 85, 97; Felsch 1987, 23; Felsch 1988, 62; Felsch 1995, 160; Felsch 2001, 9 Abb. 5.
 - 17 Mit runden Vertiefungen auf dem Stylobat: Felsch 1987, 21; Felsch 1998, 233.
 - 18 Vlad Borrelli 1966, 826; contra Kalpaxis 1976, 48 Abb. 33.
 - 19 A. Bammer/U. Muss in: Scherrer 1995, 48; Bammer/Muss 1996, 36; Gruben 2001, 381-382.
 - 20 Vgl. auch Lambrinoudakis/Gruben 1987, 602-603.
 - 21 Agrigent: Sulze 1936, 15-23 Abb. 2-5. - Kallio: Buchert 2000, 173. - Orchomenos (Arkadien): Blum/Plassart 1914, 81-85; Kalpaxis 1975, 96; Buchert 2000, 173. - Tiryns: Sulze 1936, 14-23 Abb. 1-3; U. Naumann in: Jantzen 1975, 103, 126-128 Abb. 37; Alzinger 1982, 114.
 - 22 Themeles 1983, 237-238.
 - 23 Buschor 1930, 87; Kyrieleis 1981, 74-75; Gruben 2001, 357; Svenson-Evers 1996, 45. - Anderer Meinung ist Kienast 1992, 175, 177.
 - 24 Dörpfeld 1892, 28-29; Dörpfeld 1935, 164-167; Herrmann 1972, 95; Mallwitz 1972, 142; Knell 1980, 17; Gruben 2001, 52.
 - 25 Dörpfeld 1935, 195; Bammer 1968-1971, 89-92; Muss 1983, 27-30; Gruben 2001, 379. - Vgl. allgemein Rumscheid 1999, 21-41.
 - 26 z.B. Athen, Olympieion: Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, passim. - Ephesos, archaisches Artemision: Muss 1983, 27-30. - Ephesos, jüngeres Artemision: Bammer 1972, 22, 24. - Kalapodi, klassischer Tempel (Ende 5. Jh.v.Chr.): Felsch/Kienast 1975, 13, 15. - Naxos, sog. Dionysos-Tempel: Lambrinoudakis 1991, 175. - Samos, Heraion, Tempel IV: Buschor 1930, 97; Reuther 1957, 60-61; Gruben 1963, 155-158; Kyrieleis 1981, 67-70; Gruben 2001, 360. - Selinunt, Tempel G: Koldewey/Puchstein 1899, 121-125; Feyer 1971, 91-92; Lauter 1976, 254 Anm. 40; Gruben 2001, 310-311, 313. - Vgl. auch Athen, Stoa Basileios: Kuhn 1985, 200-201.
 - 27 Vgl. etwa Argos, Heraion, Nordstoa: Coulton 1976, 28.
 - 28 z.B. Didyma, archaischer Apollon-Tempel: Gruben 1963, 108; Fehr 1971-1972, 24; Gruben 2001, 400. - Naxos, Apollon-Tempel: Gruben 2001, 372. - Samos, Hera-Tempel IV (sog. Dipteros des Polykrates): Gruben 2001, 360.
 - 29 Felsch 1980, 76-77.
 - 30 Soteriades 1898, 105; Vlad Borrelli 1966, 825-826.
 - 31 Dinsmoor 1950, 52; Robertson 1954, 66-67; Knell 1980, 18; Lawrence/Tomlinson 1983, 66. - In diese Richtung weisen möglicherweise auch die variierenden Jochweiten: Kalpaxis 1974, 107.
 - 32 Sotiriadis 1908, 4.
 - 33 Kuhn 1993, 41-42 (Lit.), 45. Nach ihm soll die bisher meist als Ersatz angesehene Tonmetope mit drei sitzenden Frauen nicht am hellenistischen Bau wiederverwendet worden sein (a.O. 34-35). Anders jedoch Kalpaxis 1976, 49-50; Scheibler 1994, 22; Koch 1996, 123-128, 166-169 (Lit.); Buchert 2000, 161-168; Koch 2000, 105; Hellmann 2002, 98. - Offen lässt die Frage Papapostolou 1997, 752-753.
 - 34 Dinsmoor 1941, 399-427; Kunze/Weber 1948, 490-496; Stucchi 1952-1954, 117-129; Kunze 1961, 3 mit Anm. 1; Kunze 1964, 172; Grunauer 1971, 131; Herrmann 1972, 134; Mallwitz 1972, 233-234; Grunauer 1981, 275-280; Mallwitz 1981, 109; Buchert 2000, 129-142; Hellmann 2002, 98.
 - 35 Zanker 1969, 11 Abb. 24; Heilmeyer 1970, 32, 166 Taf. 30, 1; Freyberger 1990, 61-63 Taf. 19 a.
 - 36 Gros/Sauron 1988, 60; Adam 1994, 9, 55-56.
 - 37 Fiechter 1906, 234-235; Muñoz 1925, 35.
 - 38 Plin. nat. 36.100: *Cyzici et buleuterium vocant aedificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis ac reponantur. Quod item Romae in ponte sublicio religiosum est, posteaquam Coclite Horatio defendente aegre revolsus est* (In Kyzikos bezeichnet man ein geräumiges Gebäude als Bouleuterion, dessen Dachstuhl ohne eisernen Nagel so geschaffen worden ist, dass seine Balken ohne Abstützungen entfernt und wieder eingesetzt werden können. Dieses System findet sich ebenso in Rom an der Pfahlbrücke, veranlasst aus religiösen Gründen, nachdem die Brücke bei der Verteidigung durch Horatius Cocles nur mit Mühe abgebrochen worden ist).
 - 39 Cic. Verr. 2.1.145: *Omnes illae columnae, quas dealbatas videtis, machina apposita, nulla impensa deiectae iisdemque lapidibus repositae sunt..... Atque in illis columnis dico esse quae a tuo redemptore commotae non sint; dico esse ex qua tantum tectorium vetus deiectum sit et novum inductum* (Alle jene Säulen, die ihr stuckiert seht, wurden unter Heranziehung einer Hebemaschine ohne Aufwand niedergelegt und mit denselben Steinen wieder aufgerichtet. Und unter jenen Säulen, so sage ich, gibt es welche, die von deinem Unternehmer gar nicht bewegt worden sind, gibt es die eine oder andere, so behaupte ich, von der lediglich der alte Stuck abgeschlagen und neuer angebracht worden ist). Poulsen 1992, 56.
 - 40 Vit. 10.2.1-15; Martin 1965, 200-219; Landels 1979, 101-117; Adam 1984, 44-52.
 - 41 So jedoch ausdrücklich Kawerau 1905, 165 und Mallwitz 1966, 375 Anm. 109. Vgl. auch Kawerau 1905, 157-172 bes. 167-169 Abb. 6.
 - 42 Dörpfeld 1892, 29; Gardiner 1925, 209; Dörpfeld 1935, 165-166; Mallwitz 1972, 142. Allerdings ist nicht eindeutig geklärt, auf welcher Höhe die jeweiligen Säulentrommeln einst ihren genauen Platz hatten.
 - 43 Dörpfeld 1892, 28.
 - 44 Mindestens ein weiterer Monolith (fünfte Säule von Westen) lässt sich heute noch an der Südseite des Tempels feststellen. In der Forschungsliteratur ist jedoch des öfteren von insgesamt drei Monolithen der Heraion-Peristasis die Rede: Dörpfeld 1892, 29; Gardiner 1925, 209; Dörpfeld 1935, 165, 168; Riemann

- 1946-1947, 50-51. Von zwei Monolithen spricht Mallwitz 1972, 142.
- ⁴⁵ Eine Liste der stilistisch jeweils zusammengehörenden Säulen findet sich bei Dörpfeld 1935, 167.
- ⁴⁶ Unglaublich klingt die von Pausanias berichtete Fremdenführeraneddote (5.20.4-5), nach der erst kürzlich im Dachstuhl des Heraions der gut erhaltene Leichnam eines Hopliten klassischer Zeit gefunden worden sei.
- ⁴⁷ Dazu bereitet J. Heiden eine Arbeit vor: Buchert 2000, 269 Anm. 792.
- ⁴⁸ Furtwängler 1907, 474 Anm. 1; Koch 1915, 45-46. Im samischen Heraion wurden möglicherweise die Holzarchitrave und Dachziegel des Rhoikos-Tempels III beim Bau des Tempels IV wiederverwendet: Gruben 2001, 365. Vielleicht war der Oberteil des Tempels aber auch nie vollendet: Kyrieleis 1981, 68.
- ⁴⁹ Mallwitz 1980, 145 (Lit.) Taf. 98, 1; Danner 1989, 10 Nr. 21 Taf. 1; Ridgway 1999, 59 Abb. 18; Gruben 2001, 54 Abb. 35.
- ⁵⁰ Mallwitz 1972, 114.
- ⁵¹ Martin 1965, 200-219; Orlandos 1968, 31-35; Shaw 1967, 389-401; Coulton 1974 a, 1-19; Müller-Wiener 1988, 80-82; Gullini 1990, 89-100; Hellmann 2002, 86-88; vgl. auch Adam 1984, 44-49.
- ⁵² Riemann 1935, 51. Vgl. auch Mallwitz 1966, 375; Kalpaxis 1976, 54.
- ⁵³ Kein Argument stellt in dieser Hinsicht das Faktum dar, dass die Säulen des Nordumgangs in unregelmäßigem Abstand zur Stylobatkante stehen, ganz im Gegensatz zu denen der südlichen Schauseite: Dörpfeld 1892, 29; Mallwitz 1972, 142.
- ⁵⁴ Kalpaxis 1976, 53-54.
- ⁵⁵ Dörpfeld 1892, 29, 35; Frazer 1898, 587; Furtwängler 1907, 475; Dörpfeld 1935, 167; Herrmann 1972, 95; Rumscheid 1999, 40; Gruben 2001, 52.
- ⁵⁶ Müller-Wiener 1988, 90.
- ⁵⁷ Schwandner 1985, 29.
- ⁵⁸ von Hesberg 1980, 26-28; Korres 1985, 201-207 bes. 204; Schaaf 1992, 89; Bringmann/von Steuben 1995, 62-63 Nr. 28; Schmidt-Dounas 2000, 274.
- ⁵⁹ Petronotis 1980, 328 (Lit.).
- ⁶⁰ Dörpfeld 1883, 68; Herrmann 1972, 104; Petronotis 1973, 20; Petronotis 1980, 328; Brandt 1990, 26; Gruben 2001, 66.
- ⁶¹ Süsserott 1944; Petronotis 1968, 131-132; Petronotis 1973, 20; Petronotis 1980, 328 (Lit.); Gruben 2001, 64.
- ⁶² Petronotis 1973, 20; Petronotis 1980, 328 (Lit.).
- ⁶³ Kockel 1983, 141-142.
- ⁶⁴ Petronotis 1980; Zanker 1989, 353-354; Alcock 1993, 191-196.
- ⁶⁵ Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 160-162; Camp 1989, 210.
- ⁶⁶ Thompson 1962, 200; Travlos 1971, 104; Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 162-168, 165-166, 167-168; Trummer 1980, 74 mit Anm. 1; Camp 1989, 208-209; Goette 1991, 215-216; Baldassarri 1998, 153-161, 202-208, 209-215; Bergemann 1998, 13 mit Anm. 18, 19; Despinis 1999, 178-179.
- ⁶⁷ Petronotis 1968, 199-200; Travlos 1971, 104; Delivorrias 1974, 94-161; Shear 1981, 362-363; Kienast 1982, 356 (Lit.); Hartswick 1990, 260-261; Böhme 1995, 59-62; Torelli 1995, 23-27; Spawforth 1997, 186-187; Walker 1997, 71 mit Anm. 17; Schäfer 1998, 93-98 (Lit.); Kajava 2001, 87-91. - Erst jüngst wurde der originale Bauplatz des Ares-Tempels nicht mehr wie bisher meist in Acharnai, sondern in Pallene lokalisiert: Korres 1992-1998.
- ⁶⁸ Kokkou 1974, 109-110; Dinsmoor 1982.
- ⁶⁹ Dinsmoor 1982; Kienast 1982, 357; Petrakos 1994, 22-27; 1996, 19-23.
- ⁷⁰ Mpakalakes 1983, 34; Boutyras 1999, 1336-1341; Tasia/Lola/Peltekes 2000; Voutiras 2001, 111.
- ⁷¹ Broneer 1954, 155 Taf. 54, 2.
- ⁷² Hoepfner 1987, 132; Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, 144.
- ⁷³ Hoepfner 1987, 133.
- ⁷⁴ Hoepfner 1987, 133.
- ⁷⁵ Hoepfner 1983, 74 -77 Taf. 9,3; 9,4.
- ⁷⁶ Koenigs 1984, 4, 6, 28-35.
- ⁷⁷ Schleif 1944, 14-18; Mallwitz 1972, 283; von Hesberg 1983, 232.
- ⁷⁸ von Hesberg 1983; Schneider 1986, 128-130.
- ⁷⁹ Dafür waren nicht in erster Linie ökonomische, sondern religiöse Gründe maßgebend, denn eine Profanierung von Teilen sakraler Architektur sollte in der Regel verhindert werden. Vgl. dazu Donderer 1993, 98-111.
- ⁸⁰ Apollon-Tempel und Dionysos-Tempel: Auberson/Schefold 1972, 37; La Rocca 1985, 76.
- ⁸¹ Tempel auf dem sog. Staatsmarkt: Jobst 1980, 246 (Lit.); Scherrer/Thür in: Scherrer 1995, 84. - Sog. Tempel des Zeus Olympios: St. Karwiese in: Scherrer 1995, 186; Burrell 2002-2003, 44-48 (Lit.).
- ⁸² Petronotis 1980, 329-330 mit Belegen.
- ⁸³ Gardner 1892, 33; Benson/Bather 1892-1893; von Hesberg 1983, 231-232.
- ⁸⁴ Vgl. auch unten Anm. 102.
- ⁸⁵ Plin. nat. 36.45: *Sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Iovis Olympii, ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas* (So wurde in Athen der Bau des Tempels des Zeus Olympios begonnen, aus dem Sulla Säulen für die Tempel auf dem Kapitol hatte heranschaffen lassen). Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 49, 118 Nr. T 22, 152; Gruben 2001, 251.
- ⁸⁶ Platner/Ashby 1929, 299; Richardson 1992, 222-223; Stamper 1998-1999, 134.
- ⁸⁷ Strabo 14.1.22: *Τὸν δὲ νεῶν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος πρῶτος μὲν Χερσίφρων ἡρχιτεκτόνησεν, εἰτ' ἄλλος ἐποίησε μείζω. Ὡς δὲ τοῦτον Ἡρόστρατος τις ἐνέπρησεν, ἄλλον ἀμείνῳ κατεσκευάσαν συνενέγκαντες τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμον καὶ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας, διαθέμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους κίονας. Τοῦτων δὲ μαρτύριόν ἐστι τὰ γενηθέντα τότε ψηφίσματα* (Den Bau des Tempels der Artemis leitete zunächst Chersiphron, danach vergrößerte ihn ein anderer. Als diesen Tempel aber ein gewisser Herostratos angezündet hatte, errichteten sie einen anderen schöneren, nachdem sie den Schmuck der Frauen und ihr eigenes Vermögen zusammengetragen sowie die älteren Säulen verkauft hatten. Zeugnis davon legen die damals gefassten Volksbeschlüsse ab). Svenson-Evers 1996, 67-72.
- ⁸⁸ Giardini: Kapitän 1961, 310; Pensabene 2002, 36. - Kap Taormina: Parker 1992, 125; Pensabene 2002, 39-40. - Marzamemi: Parker 1992, 267; Pensabene 2002, 40. - Punta Scifo: Parker 1992, 361; Pensabene 2002, 36-37. - Punta Stilo: Parker 1992, 362. - Sile: Parker 1992, 404; Pensabene 2002, 42. - Vgl. auch Maischberger 1997, 26-29.
- ⁸⁹ Lauter 1974, 21-22; von Hesberg 1994, 177.
- ⁹⁰ Koch/Sichtermann 1982, 484-497; Koch 1993, 162-163.
- ⁹¹ Wiegartz 1965, 18-19 mit Anm. 23; Wiegartz 1974, 350-358; Waelkens 1982, 124-127.
- ⁹² Kalpaxis 1986, 25-26 mit weiteren Belegen.
- ⁹³ Vgl. die umfangreichen freien Flächen in vielen Heiligtümern, die neuerdings für große Mengen von Asyl Suchenden in Anspruch genommen wurden: Sinn 1993, 95-109; zu Olympia speziell 95-96.
- ⁹⁴ Raubitschek 1949, 3-4; Herrmann 1984; McGowan 1990, 303; McGowan 1997.

- ⁹⁵ Jordan-Ruwe 1995.
- ⁹⁶ Bousquet 1956, 565-573; McGowan 1990, 303.
- ⁹⁷ Ohnesorg 1999, 222-223, 228.
- ⁹⁸ *EEA Supplemento* 1970 (1973) 400 s.v. Klenis; Ohnesorg 1999, 226, 228-229 (Lit.).
- ⁹⁹ Paus. 5.20.6-7: "Ὡν δὲ Οἰνομάου οἰκίαν οἱ Ἥλεῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ. Τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος, πεποιήνται δὲ ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ. Οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, εἰσῆκει. Κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἔξ ἀπάσης μόνον (Was die Eleer Haus des Oinomaos nennen, liegt vom großen Altar aus in Richtung Zeus-Tempel. Zur Linken gibt es vier Säulen und ein Dach auf diesen. Gemacht sind sie als Schutz für eine Holzsäule, die mit der Zeit stark gelitten hat und an vielen Stellen durch Reifen zusammengehalten wird. Diese Säule stand, wie man sagt, im Haus des Oinomaos. Nachdem der Gott einen Blitz geschleudert hatte, vernichtete das Feuer zwar das restliche Haus, nur die Säule ließ es von allem übrig). Vgl. Robertson 1954, 66; Rumscheid 1999, 32 Anm. 55.
- ¹⁰⁰ Nach einer neuen Interpretation habe es sich in Wirklichkeit um eine Wendesäule des ersten Stadions gehandelt: Brulotte 1994.
- ¹⁰¹ Paus. 2.19.7; 9.8.3.
- ¹⁰² Paus. 1.40.4: Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα. Ταῦτα ἐμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Διὸς (Das Kultbild des Zeus aber wurde nicht ausgearbeitet, da der Krieg der Peloponnesier gegen die Athener ausbrach Hinter dem Tempel liegen halbbearbeitete Hölzer. Diese hätte Theokosmos mit Elfenbein und Gold veredeln und daraus die Kultstatue des Zeus herstellen sollen).
- ¹⁰³ Donderer 1993, 106.
- ¹⁰⁴ Liv. 42.3.1-11; Val. Max. 1.1.20.
- ¹⁰⁵ Nissen 1902, 943; Donderer 1993, 105-106.
- ¹⁰⁶ Furtwängler 1906, 190, 256-276; Thiersch 1928; Welter 1938, 78-85; Invernizzi 1965, 242-262; Ohly 1979, 13-14, 34 mit Anm. 32; Sinn 1987, 133-136; Bankel 1993, 50-51; Donderer 1993, 103-104; Walter 1993, 79-80; Walter-Karydi 1999, 302-303; Ohly 2001, Taf. 163-191; Santi 2001, 193-205.
- ¹⁰⁷ Donderer 1993, 104-105.
- ¹⁰⁸ Helbig⁴ II (1966) 324-325 Nr. 1508 (W. Fuchs); Talamo 1995, 73-77 (Lit.) Abb. 24-28; Despinis 1996, 255-256; Talamo 1998, 147, 157 Abb. 19 a.b; Röley 1999, 176-177; Brinkmann 2002, 273-274, 325 Abb. 355 a; Touloupa 2002, 33-34 Nr. 58 Abb. 122-125.
- ¹⁰⁹ La Rocca 1980-1981 Abb.; 1985 Abb.; 1986; 1988 a; 1988 b, 129-136 Abb.; Röley 1999, 177-178. - Anders Coarelli 1984, 105; Hafner 1992.
- ¹¹⁰ Pape 1975, 9-26; Waurick 1975; Balsdon 1979, 172-176; Pietilä-Castrén 1982; Andrén 1986, 8; Chevallier 1991, 53-65; Röley 1999, 176-180.
- ¹¹¹ Diod. 16.56.7-8; Paus. 5.20.8; Strab. 8.6.23; Suet. *Iul.* 81.2. Vgl. auch Wace 1949; Hainsworth 1987.
- ¹¹² Zur Wiederverwendung griechischer Bauplastik in Rom s. Dinsmoor 1960, 304 Anm. 1; Coarelli 1984, 102-105; Bankel 1985, 9-12; Despinis 1996. Vgl. auch Donderer 1993, 105.
- ¹¹³ Reuther 1957, 63; Kyrieleis, 1981, 70.
- ¹¹⁴ Polyb. 5.88-90. - Müller-Wiener 1988, 28; Bringmann/von Steuben 1995, 234-235 Nr. 199; 238 Nr. 205; 240 Nr. 207. Vgl. auch Inschrift aus Milet: Bringmann/von Steuben 1995, 346-348 Nr. 284; Schmidt-Dounas 2000, 246.
- ¹¹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 12.19.1. von Hesberg 1994, 179.
- ¹¹⁶ Skulpturen konnten ebenfalls für einen späteren Gebrauch zwischengelagert werden: Plin. *epist.* 8.18.11. Vgl. auch Neudecker 1988, 117.
- ¹¹⁷ Mallwitz 1966, 375 Anm. 109.
- ¹¹⁸ Dörpfeld 1935, 167.
- ¹¹⁹ Überraschend wirkt zunächst, dass die Holzarchitrave dabei offensichtlich nicht durch solche aus Stein ersetzt wurden, doch gibt es neben der möglichen Analogie archaischer Zeit im Heraion von Samos auch spätere Beispiele. Delos, große Portikus im Heiligtum der Syrischen Gottheiten (späthellen.): Bruneau/Ducat 1983, 226; Will 1985, 44. - Ephesos, Agora (kaiserzeitl.): Engelman/Knibbe/Merkelbach 1980, 211-212 Nr. 1384.
- ¹²⁰ Zur Datierung des Heraions ins frühe 6. Jh.v.Chr. vgl. zuletzt Kalpaxis 1976, 56 mit Anm. 278 (Lit.); Felsch 1990, 312 Anm. 35.
- ¹²¹ Robertson 1954, 111-112; Mallwitz 1966, 376; Herrmann 1972, 97; Mallwitz 1972, 139; Knell 1980, 19-20; Sinn 1981, 54; de Waele 1982, 32-33; Østby 1986, 100; Gruben 2001, 53.
- ¹²² Bruneau/Ducat 1983, 226; Will 1985, 42-43.
- ¹²³ Ἀντὶ τοῦ πωρίνου: Will 1985, 42 Abb. 34 Taf. 13, 1.
- ¹²⁴ Roussel/Launey 1937, 279-82 Nr. 2267-2273; Rumscheid 1999, 43.
- ¹²⁵ Will 1985, 42-43.
- ¹²⁶ Paus. 5.16.3: Ταῖς δὲ νικώσαις ἐλαίας τε διδόασι στεφάνους καὶ βοὸς μοῖραν τεθυμένης τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ δὴ ἀναθεῖναι σφισιν ἔστι γραψαμέναις εἰκόνας (Den Siegerinnen geben sie Kränze des Ölbaumes sowie einen Anteil an der Kuh, die der Hera geopfert worden ist, und es ist ihnen erlaubt, ihre Bilder zu weihen, nachdem sie sich haben malen lassen). Durch die bei Pausanias nur hier gebrauchte mediale Form des Verbuns grafein (Pirenne-Delforge/Purnelle 1997, 215) wird erwiesen, dass es sich um Gemälde und nicht um Statuen mit Aufschriften gehandelt hat, wie mehrfach angenommen wurde: Frazer 1898, 593; Van Looy 1992, 148; Serwint 1993, 404; Papachatz 1994, 279. Im Belieben der Siegerin stand zwar die Anfertigung eines Porträtmaltes, nicht aber, ob eine Aufschrift auf der Statuenbasis angebracht werden sollte.
- ¹²⁷ Vgl. dazu Harris 1964, 179-183; Scanlon 1984; Van Looy 1992, 148.
- ¹²⁸ Dörpfeld 1935, 170-171; Herrmann 1972, 95; Decker 1995, 42; Hellmann 2002, 255.
- ¹²⁹ Votivpinakes oder Votivreliefs denken sich in den Vertiefungen angebracht: Dörpfeld 1892, 34; Kawerau 1905, 166; Froning 1981, 42; Scheibler 1994, 139; Sinn 2001, 69.
- ¹³⁰ Ehlich 1954; 1986.
- ¹³¹ Ehlich 1954, 94 Abb. 33.
- ¹³² Rumscheid 1999.
- ¹³³ Vgl. Beispiele aus Epiros (Hatzopoulos 1997, 145 Abb. 120) und Kerkyra (Guarducci 1969, 598-599 Abb. 190).
- ¹³⁴ Dittenberger/Purgold 1896, 75-80 Nr. 39 Abb.
- ¹³⁵ Van Buren 1938, 73-74; Searls/Dinsmoor 1945, 73-74; Dinsmoor 1950, 54; Ridgway 1999, 218 Anm. 43; Rumscheid 1999, 40-41; Buchert 2000, 274.
- ¹³⁶ Zwischen den Säulen der Südseite haben sich zudem Standlöcher für Stelen erhalten, die ebenfalls Votivinschriften von Architekturteilen getragen haben können: Dörpfeld 1892, 34.
- ¹³⁷ Doepner 2002, 91, 226 Abb. 147.

¹³⁸ Sestieri 1953, 319.

¹³⁹ Ephesos: Wankel 1979, 122-128 Nr. 20 Taf. 20. bei Karabunar: Poljakov 1989, 147 Nr. 150. Magnesia am Mäander: Kern 1900, 106-107 Nr. 118.

¹⁴⁰ Auch am Aphrodite-Tempel in Aphrodisias finden sich die zugehörigen Votivinschriften nicht gleichmäßig auf alle Seiten verteilt, sondern nahezu ausschließlich an den Säulen der nördlichen Langseite: Rumscheid 1994, II 5 Nr. 16 (Lit.); Rumscheid 1999, 28.

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Attacking Lions

Archaic Bronze Hydriae with an attacking Lion at the vertical Handle

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Abstract

A well-preserved bronze hydria turned up in the art market in 2003. It is a high quality piece, shedding new light on a small group of archaic Greek bronze hydriae which hitherto lingered almost forgotten in the background of recent scholarship. This is the first publication to show the importance of the 'new' hydria and the group to which it belongs.

In my recent study of Laconian Bronze Hydriae, published in *BABesch* 79, 2004, 9-48, a group of three vertical handles, decorated with a lion forepart in an attacking pose at the lower handle attachment, was excluded, because a non-Laonian origin could be envisaged.¹

I had already commented on the group in a previous survey,² though I avoided a firm attribution at that time. In a later study, however, a Laonian origin and a revised dating were taken into consideration.³

The ambiguity of the three handles (here catalogued as nos 2-4) would probably not have been resolved without the help of new material. Surprisingly, only a short time after my former article in *BABesch* 2004 went to the press, a complete preserved bronze hydria with exactly the same type of lion at the lower handle attachment of the vertical handle came to my knowledge. I am glad to be able to publish the 'new' hydria here as an *addendum* to my previous article⁴ and to investigate its relationship with the three handles already known.

Our hydria (figs. 1-8), here catalogued as no 1, whose exact provenance is unknown,⁵ is of normal size (fig. 1).⁶ Remarkably, though, its largest diameter (37.8 cm) equals almost its height (40.0 cm).⁷ Such a shape is not found with other bronze hydriae, but similar proportions return with Laonian pottery, e.g. with fictile craters dated to the years around 600 or a little later.⁸ Other early features, as far as the shape is concerned, can be found in the plain rim, which tapers outwards, in the short and heavy grip of the vertical handle,⁹ in the round section of the horizontal handles, in the neck with its concave outline slanting inwards and in the heavy, undecorated outwards tapering

foot. Such features are found also with a series of Laonian bronze hydriae, mostly dated around 600 BC or earlier.¹⁰

THE DECORATIONS

The first point to stress is the lack of decorations, as compared with the bronze hydriae of later date. Later hydriae usually have their rims, the grips of their vertical and horizontal handles and the foot decorated in some way.¹¹ Even their plastic decorations are more abundant. But despite this relative lack of decoration, our hydria can hold his own - and most interesting, even exciting, is the plastic decoration of the vertical handle.



Fig. 1. Bronze hydria.
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

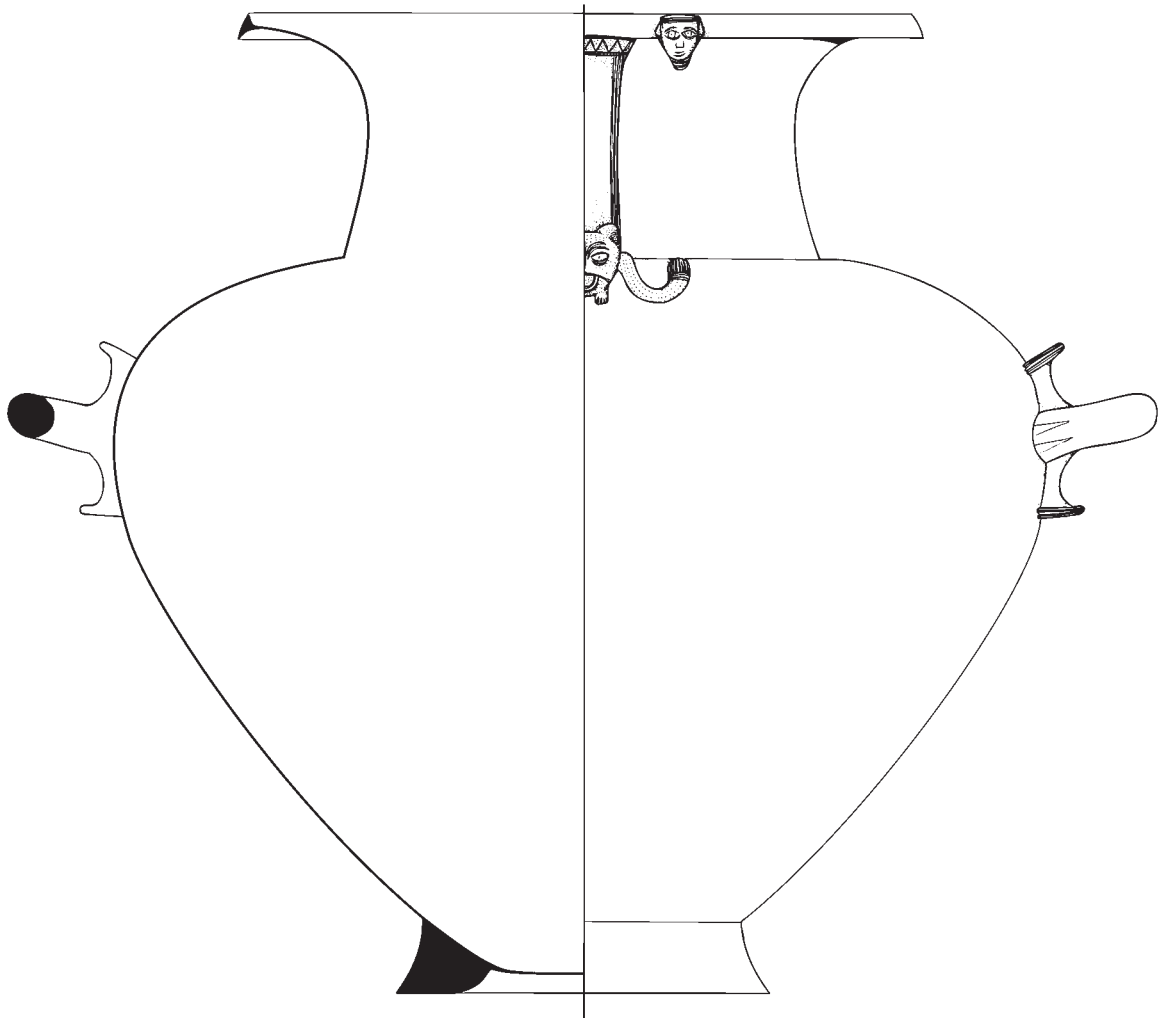


Fig. 2. The same, profile drawing.

At the upper attachment there are two human protomes at a place where they were never found hitherto. We knew only of lion and ram protomes flanking the upper attachment.¹² At first glance one would think that the human protomes of our hydria are attached to the rim in their own right, but closer examination shows that they are linked to the handle by two almost invisible arms extending from the grip underneath the overlapping rim to the protomes.¹³ The arms, before reaching the protomes, take the shape of a disk, which, to the viewer, seems to be the corresponding neck. The neck has horizontal wrinkles (*fig. 5*), whereas the outer face of each disk is decorated with a hatched half-circle (*fig. 8, 5*). It is this connection between the protomes and the handle which provides us with a convincing argument in favor of an

authentic Greek and even Laconian product, because such a technical arrangement is observed also with the other bronze hydriae equipped with protomes at the upper handle attachment.¹⁴

The human protomes as such, with their flat skull, low forehead under a straight band,¹⁵ their unarticulated pointed ears, their big eyes under heavy, notched eyebrows (*fig. 7, 4*), thick lips and rounded chin, recall Dedalic heads such as a known bronze head from Olympia in Karlsruhe, dated ca 650 BC (*fig. 9*).¹⁶ This head (H. 8.5 cm!) has been recognized as belonging to a complete female figure serving as a support (one out of three) for a tripod. It is the oldest hollow cast statuette of which we know and could, for this reason alone already, be attributed to a Samian workshop.¹⁷ But it has been called Laconian also.¹⁸ Others



Fig. 3. The same, front view.

would vote for a statuette of Cretan origin.¹⁹ Very close in style to both our heads and to the one in Karlsruhe is a double headed bronze sphinx from Olympia, which belonged to the decoration of a rod-tripod.²⁰ If this sphinx (and its counterpart of a griffin, also from Olympia) were of Laconian origin,²¹ they would contribute significantly to our knowledge of the early Laconian bronze industry.²² But the attribution remains uncertain as no arguments more convincing than the general appearance and the fine incision of the hair can be found.²³ Such arguments are now offered, it seems, by the two protomes of our hydria.

As a typical Laconian feature, which returns with numerous unambiguous Laconian human and animal heads, the design of the eyebrows with their double incised lines filled with notching (*fig. 8, 4*),

should be emphasized.²⁴ The eyes themselves are of a peculiar type, which is also found with Laconian heads of the same and of later periods (*fig. 10*).²⁵ Even when, with our protomes, the eyes are not uniformly shaped, they still betray one and the same basic model: the half-circle of the eye itself, with the pupil clearly indicated by incision, is, so to speak, suspended at the wavy incised line of the upper eyelid. The origin of the type may be sought in East Greece and/or in the Near East.²⁶

As for the type and dating of our human protomes, it should be clear that they cannot be put on one and the same chronological level with the above mentioned Middle Dedalic heads, on which they are stylistically dependent. They are much closer to the Late Dedalic group, which has been defined as showing a 'shortening and squaring of



Fig. 4. The same, detail of front view.

the face..completed by the elimination of all point from the chin..'; furthermore, there is 'an unmistakable increase in depth'.²⁷ The shaping of the ears is primitive, but at least they are there, as with post-Dedalic heads dating after 620.²⁸ So the dating of our protomes should be transitional between late and post-Dedalic periods that is around 625-615 BC.²⁹

Let us now see whether the remaining decorations of our hydria agree with this provisional outcome or not. The lion forepart at the lower attachment of the vertical handle, in a pose which we have called 'attacking', offers no less a lead for further research than the human protomes. First the pose. One should realize that the early Laconian bronze workers generally seem to have accepted the rule that the decorations at the vertical handle are seen from above, in what we might call an aerial view. This becomes apparent if one compares the representations of snake-protomes on early and on later hydria-handles.³⁰ In the same way the lion at our handle is seen from above, his forelegs just projecting from under his body. Of course, this pose can be interpreted as an attacking one, but also as a rather quieter, crouching

attitude, if you wish. Later bronze workers would present their lions rampant, that is with an attacking pose replacing the entire vertical handle, or in a crouching position next to the upper attachment.³¹ There has been some discussion about the meaning of the many appearances of the same motif on other vessels of later date: there, so it seems, the attacking lion becomes a dead lion skin decoratively suspended at a handle.³² This development, however, can be observed only outside Laconia.

More important than the iconographic aspects, for our purpose, is the stylistic analysis of the lion's head. The design as such is rather unusual (fig. 8, 2-3), when compared with other early lion heads, but the general shaping of the head, with its large unarticulated rounded ears, broad skull and short muzzle, seems to be a common type in the second half of the 7th century BC.³³ The use of chiselled dots for embellishment or to indicate hair, as on our lion head, is also present with other early lions attributed to Laconian workshops.³⁴ On the other hand the obligatory collar-mane with radial incision, of the normal Laconian lions, is missing.³⁵ The nearest parallel for our lion head

has been found in Olympia, here no 2, fig. 11. It shows not only a similar design of the carving of the face, but also lacks the radial collar mane. This lion has been called Laconian nonetheless, and dated to the end of the seventh and the beginning of the 6th century by its publisher.³⁶

The closeness of no 2 to our vertical handle is shown by more details. At the outer face of each half-reel of no 2 is a band in the shape of a half-circle filled with concentric hatching. The same ornament returns with no 1 at the outer face of the disc-shaped 'necks' of each of the human protomes at the upper attachment of the vertical handle (fig. 8, 5). Even a technical detail like the crack of the arm of a half-reel at the point where it was fastened to the body of the vase by a rivet, is repeated on both vases (on our hydria at a horizontal handle, as stated above, on no 2 at the right half-reel next to the lion forepart). Apparently one and the same bronze worker had made the same mistake when producing the two vessels with the same week points.

Next to the lion forepart of no 1 are two flanking snakes attached to the wall of the vessel. The combination of lion and snakes is comparable to similar contradictory combinations on other early handles, such as the example showing a human protome between snakes which has been explained as a near-eastern model for quite a few Laconian oinochoe-handles.³⁷ Those Laconian oinochoe-handles, however, have a more natural combination of a palmette between snake-protomes.³⁸ On hydriae the same combination of a lion forepart between snakes as with no 1 is only found with no 3, fig. 12. The lion-head of this handle is much more articulated than with no 1 and shows also the obligatory collar-mane of the normal Laconian lions. Its find-place, the cave of Zeus on Mount Ida in Crete, could be significant (see below).

Returning now to our hydria no 1 we may note the chiselled dots on the curved endings of the snakes next to the lion's head. The dotted motif returns on snake bodies with a bronze oinochoe fragment in a Dutch private collection, dated in the second half of the 7th century and with a bronze oinochoe handle in Hannover of a similar date.³⁹ Therefore these dots seem to offer another argument in favour of a late 7th century dating for our hydria and a possible attribution to a Laconian workshop.

A look at the grip of the vertical handle (fig. 5) may suffice to demonstrate that it belongs to an early series of heavy and rather short hydria-handles with an almost flat surface and a simple decoration of vertical engraved lines at the outer bor-



Fig. 5. The same, vertical handle.



Fig. 6. The same, side handle.



Fig. 7. The same, rim with rivets.

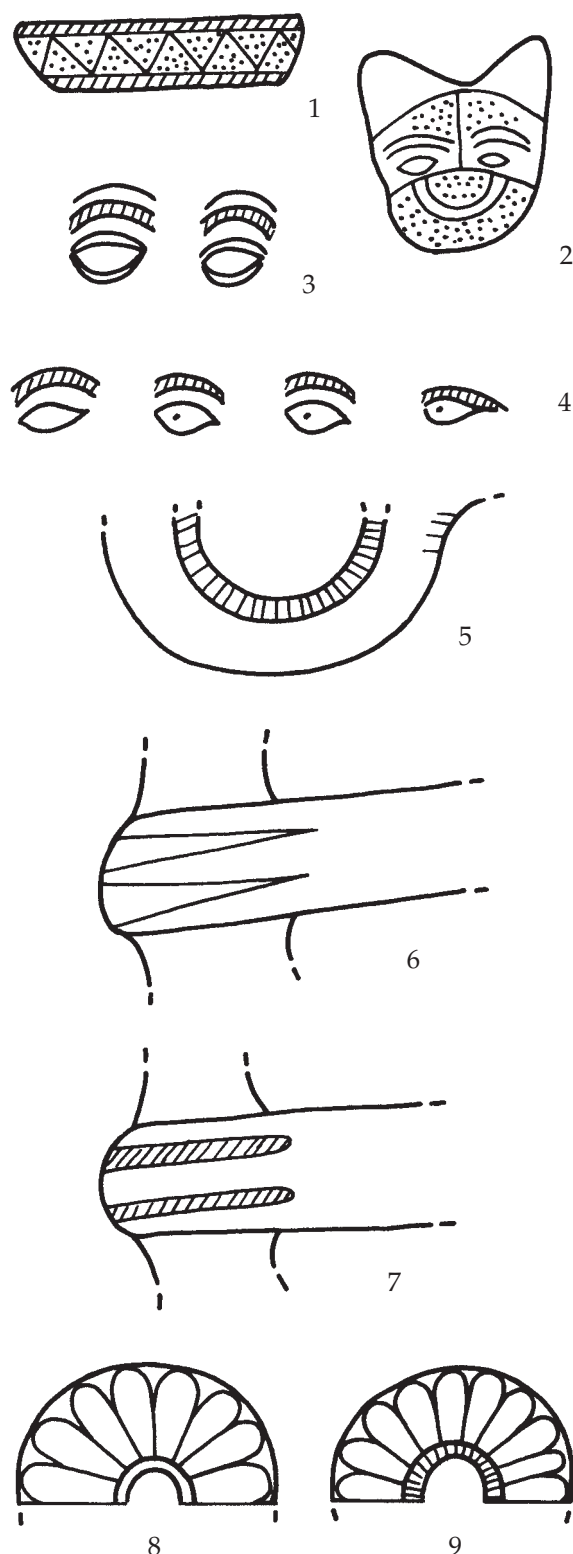


Fig. 8, 1-9. The same, drawing of details.

ders.⁴⁰ A more elaborate design is found at the upper attachment to the rim of the vessel: here a carefully drawn zigzag line creates the impression of a horizontal frieze of triangles filled with chiselled dots. It is bordered above and below by obliquely hatched bands (fig. 8, 1). This is still a rather simplified edition of a decoration found at the same place, but more elaborate with two or more friezes, on many early hydria-handles attributed to Laconia.⁴¹

Finally the side-handles (fig. 6). These are of the round-in-section-type, seen only on early hydriae.⁴² At both ends we find incised horn-like decorations, pointed and plain at the right, more rounded and hatched at the left side handle (fig. 8, 6-7). They remain unexplained for the moment. One could compare the equally enigmatic decorations at the endings of the horizontal handles from a lost early hydria from Belmonte Piceno, now in Ancona: there seems to be an incised leaf-motif, interpreted by others as the protome of a bovine animal or even a gazelle.⁴³ At the outer faces of the half-reels of our hydria we find the more traditional incised rosettes (fig. 8, 8-9).

At the end of this survey of the decorations of the hydria no 1 we must conclude that the decorations are restricted to the handles. This fact alone is already a clear indication for an early production date, because later hydriae also show decorations on the rim, the foot and in the grips of the handles themselves. This tendency towards a more elaborate system of decoration starts with the Telestas Group, whose earliest examples are dated shortly before 600 BC.⁴⁴ So our hydria clearly belongs to the group of predecessors to the Telestas Group, a group characterized by its experimental bias.⁴⁵ Before reaching a final conclusion, though, we must consider the other members of the 'Attacking lion Group'.

OTHER HYDRIAE OF THE SAME GROUP

Our no 2 (fig. 11), an isolated handle fragment from Olympia, has already been compared above because of the close resemblance of its lion forepart to that of no 1. A simple, not to say primitive, carving system has been used to indicate the main traits of the face. The details may perhaps be worn, but the shaping of the eyes and eyebrows, and of the muzzle and the ears betray the same hand working on a lower level. This hand was also recognized in a characteristic detail: the hatched half-circle at the outer face of the half-reels, which return on the neck of the human protomes of no 1, as stated above (fig. 8, 5). Apart from the half-

reels which replace here the snakes of no 1, there is the remarkable shape of the grip, with its flat narrow face bordered with carved vertical lines (as with the grip of no 1) and its receding flanks towards a rounded back. This shape, trapezium-like in section, is exceptional. Only two other examples are known to date, both considered to be Laconian and to belong to the early 'experimental' group of hydriae handles.⁴⁶ Our no 2 should be at least a contemporary product of those two, made in the same workshop as no 1, probably by the same artist.

Our no 3 (fig. 12) has been cited above, because of the snakes emerging from the lion forepart in a similar way as with no 1. The styling of the face of the lion, with its deep carving and setting of the eyes between heavy eyelids and brows, and the straight wrinkle emerging from between the eyes over the forehead, is also comparable. The only difference are the shaping of the muzzle and the presence of a collar-mane enclosing the round ears. This collar mane lacks the radial incision usual in Laconian lions, but has a zigzag line, often used for borders on Laconian hydriae and statuettes.⁴⁷ The forepaws seem to be rendered in a more realistic way. Most refined, but invisible on photographs, are the incised heads and necks of the snakes. Every part has its own design: cross-hatching on top of the head, two transversal rows of chiselled dots between lines marking the transition from the head to the neck; six wavy lines on the neck itself.⁴⁸ The grip is longer, slightly convex, more elegant in its widening to the top and with its vertical lines in the centre. Only one of the two ram's protomes at the upper attachment is preserved. This is one of the very few parallels for the far more elaborate ram's heads which adorn the recently published hydria in an American private collection.⁴⁹ The other parallel is our no 4. The rather strange, down pointing attitude of the preserved ram's head of no 3 is due to the above mentioned tendency of the early bronze workers to present their ornaments in an 'aerial' view. The rivet serving for fastening the (invisible) connecting 'arm' to the rim of the vessel is preserved.

Of special interest in this case is the provenance of the handle: the cave of Zeus on Mount Ida in Crete. This is one of the very few instances where there is a hint of a local Cretan production of bronze vessels, usually attributed to Peloponnesian workshops.⁵⁰ But the case is not strong enough to resist to the overwhelming evidence of the mainland production with the characteristics which we have observed above. So this handle should belong to a hydria which was exported from Laconia for pur-



Fig. 9. Bronze head from Olympia. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum.



Fig. 10. Lakaina from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Sparta, Museum.



Fig. 11. Fragment of vertical handle (Cat. No 2). Olympia, Museum B 5241.



Fig. 12. Vertical handle (Cat. No 3).
Iraklion, Archaeological Museum 153.

chase by a customer in Crete, who would have dedicated it to Zeus. This could have happened around 600 BC, that is about one generation after the possible production date of nos 1 and 2.

Our no 4 is the last of the group. It has the long meager grip of a type which represents the exact opposite of the short and heavy handle of our no 1. Such slim handles are common in the second half of the 6th century, especially with a group which has been rightly attributed to Corinth.⁵¹ The one preserved side handle which goes with our no 4 has an exact parallel in a handle which was actually found in Corinth.⁵² The find place of our handle, Psophis (in Elis), also points to a northern Peloponnesian origin. There can be little doubt, therefore, that our no 4 is a Corinthian product.⁵³ How should we explain, then, that the plastic decorations of the vertical handle no 4 combines so many features which recall our handles nos 1-3? The answer is: because in Corinth the bronze workers in the second half of the 6th century tried to imitate the Laconian achievements of the first half, hoping to get a share in the market. So we may consider no 4 as a nice example of the archaizing tendency of the Corinthians, for which we have more examples at hand. It certainly may be called surprising that successes of the Laconian bronze workers from around 600 BC were imitated at Corinth about half a century later, as in our case. But the facts are there.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we may state that hydria no 1 contributes substantially to our knowledge of a small group of bronze hydriae, a group hitherto overshadowed by the rich array of archaic bronze hydriae of which we know today. The stylistic analysis of no 1 has shown, I hope, that within the orbit of the early Laconian hydriae, datable between ca 630-600, our hydria occupies a special place. Its shape, the human protomes at the rim, the lion forepart at the lower attachment of the vertical handle, and the decoration of the side handles, all are unusual in themselves and because of their style. There are some indications for a Cretan origin (the style of the human protomes and the find place of no 3), but they are too weak to be convincing. The lines of connection to Laconia are stronger. Firstly there is the fact that nowhere else has such a dense production of bronze vessels (the hydriae taking a most prominent place) and useful implements been identified as for Laconia between 650 and 550. Secondly there are a few details which betray the hand of a Laconian bronze worker, as shown above. Thirdly there is the iconography of the attacking lion for which Laconian parallels are available, not only within our group, but also with some early handles of oinochoae which are attributed to Laconia.⁵⁵ In this context a pair of bronze fibulae from Sparta (fig. 13), on which a female protome is combined with a lion forepart, should be mentioned as a strong argument in favour of a Laconian origin not only of the motif as such, but also of our hydria and the early members of his group.⁵⁶ We may conclude, then, that our hydria no 1 makes a reasonable chance to have been produced in a Laconian workshop between 625 and 615 BC.

Nevertheless there remain some doubts. They are mainly based on our limited knowledge of the

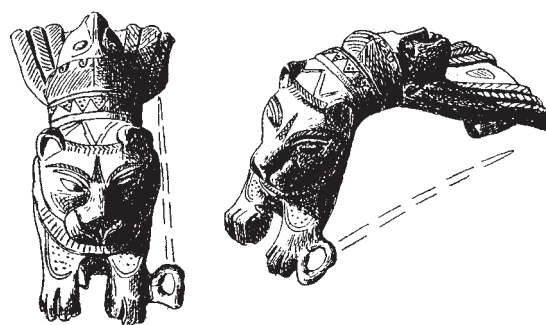


Fig. 13. Pair of bronze fibulae from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Sparta, Museum 2142.

production of bronze vessels on Crete and in East Greece, including Samos, in the second half of the 7th century BC. Many reasons can be adduced for the supposition, that the amazing achievements of the Laconian bronze workers between 650 and 550 were mainly due to the special relationship which existed between Sparta and Samos in that period.⁵⁷ From a Laconian standpoint our hydria no 1 shows a number of anomalies, which would allow for the hypothesis, that we have before us, for the first time so well-preserved, one of those Samian bronze vessels, which might have inspired the Laconians. If the bronze head in Karlsruhe (fig. 9) and the double-headed sphinx, both from Olympia, which have been mentioned above as the possible models for the human protomes of our hydria no 1, were actually Samian, as some scholars with good reasons have claimed, this would be an argument for also attributing our hydria to Samos. As an additional argument in favor of an East Greek origin of our hydria its alleged provenance can be considered. 'The region of the Black Sea' includes Bulgaria and Rumania. The nearest we could get hitherto is with the Laconian bronze hydria found in a Skythian grave near Ártánd in northeast Hungary.⁵⁸ This find place is the most northern and eastern point of an overland trade-route which can be traced through the Balkans or/and over the Adriatic Sea. An alternative trade route through the Black Sea would bring us in the traditional East Greek sphere of influence and therefore nearer to an attribution of our hydria to a Samian workshop. For the moment, however, this option cannot be called more than a attractive suggestion.

CATALOGUE

- 1 Complete preserved hydria. Figs. 1-8.
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.
Exact provenance unknown, allegedly from the Black Sea-region (art market Germany, 2003).
H. 40.0, H. of vertical handle 13.0.
Previously unpublished.
- 2 Fragment of the vertical handle. Fig. 11.
Olympia, Museum B 5241, B 5473.
Provenance: Olympia ('SO, O 10 Nord, 8.12.1962 und 25.1.1963').
H. 6.6.
Gauer 1991, 144, 260 no Hy 21, fig. 27, 3, pl. 89, 3. Stibbe 1992, 46-47, 60 no M2. Stibbe 1996, 356 n. 2, 376.
- 3 Vertical handle. Fig. 12.
Iraklion, Archaeological Museum 153.
Provenance: the cave of Zeus on Mount Ida.
H. 17.5.
Halbherr 1886, 740-741 no 2 with drawing. Neugebauer 1923, 390 n. 3. Neugebauer 1925, 181. Diehl 1964, 8, 213

no B4, pl. 1, 1. Stibbe 1992, 46-47, 60 no M1. Stibbe 1996, 376.

- 4 Vertical handle and horizontal handle.
Patras, Archaeological Museum 70-71.
Provenance: Psophis (Elis).
H. of vertical handle 19.0.
Rolley 1963, 473 no 3, figs. 18-20. Diehl 1964, 8, 213 no B5, 214 no B35. Rolley 1982, 33 n. 17. Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 58 no K 23. Stibbe 1992, 46-47, 60 no M3. Stibbe 1996, 376 with no 113.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All figures are photographs or drawings made by the author, except for the following: fig. 2 (The Budapest Museum of Fine Arts); fig. 9 (after Vokotopoulou 1997, fig. 23); fig. 11 (after Gauer 1991, pl. 89,3); fig. 12 (after Diehl 1964, pl.1, 1); fig. 13 (after BSA 13, 1906-1907, 114, fig. 4a). I would like to thank J. Haering (Freiburg), J. Gy. Szilágyi and Á.M. Nagy (Budapest) for their friendly cooperation. Steve Evans (Utrecht) made the ink tracings of my pencil drawings. My English text was corrected by Martin Rush (Oxford).

NOTES

- 1 Stibbe 2004, 44 n. 48.
- 2 Stibbe 1992, 46-47, 60: Group M, with bibl.
- 3 Stibbe 1996, 376 with n. 110.
- 4 I thank the owner, who invited me to study and publish the hydria, for his kindness and for some of the photographs which are published here. The article was already completed, when I learned that the hydria had been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.
- 5 The first owner, who sold the hydria to a German dealer in 2003, only said that it was found in the region of the Black Sea. Although unreliable, this information is not without interest, as will be shown below.
- 6 For the normal size of Laconian bronze hydriae see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 1.
- 7 Other measurements: H. of rim and neck 10.0. H. of foot 2.0. H. of vertical handle 13.0. Dm. of rim 26.8. Dm. of neck 17.7. Dm. of foot 15.2. W. of lion head 3.0. W. of human protomes 2.0. W. of vertical handlegrip 3.0. Green uneven patina mostly at the side of the vertical handle. The vessel is intact, except for an ancient repair at one arm of a half-reel at the left horizontal handle. Modern restoration: a hole in the body. During restorations the foot was found to be attached to the body with lead.
- 8 Cf. Stibbe, *LBP* 1, Figs. 11, 13, 20, 43.
- 9 Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 111 with n. 58.
- 10 Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 5, n. 9 and Stibbe 2004, Figs. 47, 48.
- 11 Cf. e.g. the hydriae belonging to the Gitiadas Group as presented in Stibbe 2004, 23-26, with Figs. 33-37.
- 12 Cf. the Rosenbaum hydria and the hydria in a private collection in the United States: Stibbe 2004, Figs. 30-31 and 17, 20. Others: Stibbe 1996, Pl. 29, 3-4; 33, 3; 34,1.
- 13 The 'arms' are fastened to the rim with rivets which emerge at the surface (fig. 7). The right one is still covered with a substance, which resembles lead. This was apparently a 'cache-misère'. How ugly such rivets would seem, can be observed with the Rosenbaum hydria, on which they are visible in the same place without a covering substance: Stibbe 1994, 90, Fig. 6.

- ¹⁴ See the vertical handles cited in the previous note. In all these cases, the protomes are cast in one piece with the grip and the decorations at the lower attachment, as with our handle.
- ¹⁵ The protome on the right side of the vertical grip has some wavy incised lines indicating the hair above the band.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Dörig 1980, 112, Pl. 21, 8; 24, 19, 21; with n. 30 for bibl. Add: Rolley 1967, 4 no 36, Pl. 10. Cat. *Hommes et Dieux* 1982, 177 (J. Thimme). M. Maass, I. Riegl, L. Hünnekens, *Badisches Landesmuseum. 150 Jahre Antikensammlungen in Karlsruhe, 1838-1988* (1988) 88, 90, Fig. 63. The head is reproduced in colors by Vokotopoulou 1997, 59 no 23.
- ¹⁷ Studniczka 1928, 245-254, Fig. 1-2, Pl. 20. Also D. Ohly, *AM* 66 (1941) 30 thinks the head to be Samian, on the base of a rather convincing comparison with Samian terracottas.
- ¹⁸ Dörig 1980, 112, Thimme 1982 (above n. 16).
- ¹⁹ Studniczka 1928, 254 would vote for a Samian work under Cretan influence. Jenkins 1936, 38-39, votes for Crete, but concedes 'a bare possibility that the objects (the Karlsruhe head and the double-headed sphinx found in Olympia) are Laconian.'
- ²⁰ Jenkins 1936, 40. Dörig 1980, 122 with n. 32 (bibl.), Pl. 23, 17; 24, 20; 20, 25.
- ²¹ As maintained by Dörig 1980, 122. For the griffin see *OB* 2, 1937-1938, 118 Pl. 52.
- ²² Hitherto the oldest rod-tripods which can be assigned to Laconia are those from Metapontum in Berlin and from Trebenishte in Belgrade; see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 78-88. They are dated there in the early first half of the 6th century, that is anyway much later than the two fabulous creatures from Olympia. For the dating see now also Bieg 2002, 58.
- ²³ For these arguments see Dörig 1980, 122 and passim. In this context the fine wavy lines indicating hair on one of our protomes (cf. above note 13) should be remembered.
- ²⁴ Cf. Stibbe 1996, 358 no 2; 364 no 4; 366 no 5; also Pl. 30, 5; 33, 3. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 76 with n. 84; 107 with n. 19; 111. Stibbe 1995, 76 with Pl. 17, 4. See also below, where the type of the lion is discussed.
- ²⁵ Cf. the eyes of the lion-protomes at the rim of the Rosenbaum hydria (Stibbe 1994, 90, Fig. 6, 1). More convincing are the eyes found in Laconian vase-painting, with the female protomes on a lakaina of the Laconian I period (= 650-620); cf. Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 25 no C8, 102 (bibl.), here fig. 9; also with the later human and animal figures of the Boread-Painter (*LV* Pl. 40, 1; 41, 1; 44, 1. The Boread-Painter worked on Samos around 580-570 BC and may have copied his specific eye-type there from Near Eastern models (see next note).
- ²⁶ It should be remembered that the bronze head from Olympia in Karlsruhe, as pointed out by Studniczka 1928, 249, has similarly incised eyebrows (almost invisible on the original, let alone on photographs). A bronze head in the Louvre from Cyprus (de Ridder, 1911, 7 no 1, Pl. 3) has been compared by Studniczka 1928, 245 with the head in Karlsruhe for its being another, somewhat later, example of a cast bronze figure; in our case this head is particularly interesting because of its incised eyebrows, which resemble exactly those on the human protomes of no 1 and for its find place (even if it would be imported there). The type of the eyes and eyebrows may have its ultimate source in Assyrian models, such as the Nimrud ivories (cf. e.g. G. Herrmann, *The Nimrud ivories 2, a Survey of the Traditions*, in B. Hrouda, S. Kroll, P.Z. Spanos (eds.), *Von Uruk nach Tutul. Eine Festschrift für E. Strommenger*, Munich 1992, 65-97, Pl. 25, 12; 25, 13; 27, 16, 27, 17.
- ²⁷ Jenkins 1936, 51 with Pl. VII.
- ²⁸ Cf. R.J.H. Jenkins, *Laconian Terracottas of the Dedalic Style*, *BSA* 33 (1932-1933) 75-76. with Pl. 11, 3.
- ²⁹ A next step in the development is represented by a terracotta head from Delphi, which is called already archaic; see P. Amandry, *BCH* 62 (1938) 326 no 31, Pl. 37, 1 a-b.
- ³⁰ Snakes seen from above: on hydria-handles from Belmonte Piceno (Stibbe 2004, 33 no 44, Fig. 47), from Capua (ibid. 35 no 45, Fig. 49), from Olympia (Gauer 1991, Pl. 85, 2 and 89, 1) and from Delphi (Stibbe 1994, 98 Fig. 20); also on a oinochoe-handle from Delphi, where, apart from snake-protomes, there is also an owl-protome seen from above (Weber 1983, 258 f., Nr. I.C.2; Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, 38, Group 2, Subgroup 2B). The protome on a handle from Olympia (Gauer 1991, Pl. 85, 5) could also be an owl, seen from above. Snakes seen in profile: at the upper attachment of the hydriae of the Telestas Group (Stibbe 2004, 9-16). Well known are also the many duck's heads seen from above, some of them on early vertical, but most of them at the side handles of bronze hydriae (cf. Stibbe 2004, 32-33, with Figs. 47-51).
- ³¹ For rampant lions replacing the vertical handle see Stibbe 2004, 30-31 with Figs. 44 and 45. For hydriae with crouching lions see e.g. the hydriae of the Gitiadas Group (Stibbe 2004, 23-26).
- ³² See A.P. Kozloff (ed.), *Animals in Ancient Art, from the Leo Mildenberg Collection*, Cleveland, 1981, 134-138, nos 113-115 (K. Patricia Erhart).
- ³³ For the development of the early Laconian lions see Stibbe 1996, 377-378.
- ³⁴ E.g. on the lion protome at the handle of an early oinochoe in Mainz, Stibbe 1996, 375, Fig. 5; also on the upper part of the lion's fore paws on a pair of bronze fibulae from Sparta, dated at the end of the 7th century (Stibbe 1996, 364-366, Fig. 3. Cf. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 147). Even the rampant lions at the handles of the krater from Vix (dated by me 570-560) still show this embellishment on their heads (see R. Joffroy, *Vix et ses Trésors*, 1979, Fig. 18).
- ³⁵ With the well-known ivory lion from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Marangou 1969, 114 no 60, Fig. 87 a, b, c = Stibbe 1996, 378, Fig. 6) the collar mane seems to be suppressed also. A striking example is furthermore the bronze handle with lion-protomes from the Amyklaion near Sparta, which has been explained as a possible near-Eastern import. This type could have been the source for our lion-type (see Stibbe 1996, 374 with Pl. 38-45). The type goes back on Hittite examples, as explained by Gabelmann 1965, 18.
- ³⁶ Gauer 1991, 260 no Hy 21, Pl. 89, 3. The dating is probably too late as shall be shown below.
- ³⁷ Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, 37 with Fig. 1.
- ³⁸ Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, Subgroups 2c, 3c and 4c.
- ³⁹ See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 147, with Fig. 106. Similar dots are found on a contemporary bronze human head from Cyprus in the Louvre (de Ridder 1911, no 1, Pl. 30) around the ear and between the spiral-locks.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. the hydria-handles in Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 112, Fig. 68; Stibbe 2004, 18 Fig. 17; 33 Fig. 47; 35 Fig. 49 and others.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Stibbe 2000, 10 Fig. 4; Stibbe 1994, 90 Fig. 6; 92 Fig. 10 and others.

- ⁴² See e.g. Stibbe 2004, Figs. 6, 25, 29, 39, 44, 47. Later, especially with the Gitiadas hydriae (Stibbe 2004, 23-27, with Fig. 33), they become flattish in section and have an elaborate decoration with a row of beadings in the middle. Exceptional, among the early hydriae, are the side handles of the Rosenbaum hydria, which are squarish in section and decorated with pairs of grooved lines (Stibbe 1994, 92, Fig. 7).
- ⁴³ See Stibbe 2004, 32 with n. 135.
- ⁴⁴ See Stibbe 2004, 12.
- ⁴⁵ See Stibbe 2004, 16-23.
- ⁴⁶ Stibbe 1996, 357-360, no 2, Fig. 1 and Pl. 26; 360-364 no 3, Pl. 27, 1. See also Stibbe 2004, 16-23, the Pre-Telestas Group.
- ⁴⁷ Almost invisible on the photograph, but clearly reproduced on the drawing in the first publication by Halbherr 1886, 739-740. For the zigzag line on borders see e.g. the Potnia Theron on the hydria from Grächwil (Jucker 1972, Pl. 14, 4) and the forehead of the female protome on the Rosenbaum hydria (Stibbe 1994, Fig. 4; also Stibbe 1996, 365).
- ⁴⁸ The decoration is visible on the drawing in the first publication by Halbherr 1886, 739-740. This kind of decoration recalls those on the snake heads of an oinochoe-handle in Hannover, which could be an Urartean original. See Stibbe 1996, 368, Fig. 4.
- ⁴⁹ Stibbe 2004, 19 Figs. 22-24.
- ⁵⁰ In the same cave on Mount Ida three bronze sphinxes were found, which follow Laconian models, but are of local production. They possibly belonged to the decoration of rod tripods. See Stibbe 2001, 16-17 with Figs. 21-24.
- ⁵¹ Stibbe 1992, 38-43, Group I.
- ⁵² Stibbe, 1992, 49, Fig. 67.
- ⁵³ Herfort-Koch 1986, 18, 85 Nr. K23 attributes the handle no 4 to Sparta without any convincing argument, probably following a remark by Erika Diehl 1964, 8, who calls our handle possibly a north Peloponnesian imitation of Laconian models.
- ⁵⁴ Many such archaizing features are found with Corinthian hydriae and oinochoae; see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 47-56; note especially no 19, 20 (the braids of the gorgoneion), no 23 ('Etagenperücke'), 24, 25 (zigzag-line on the collar mane as with our no 3), 26 with n. 86. A similar phenomenon is observed with Etruscan oinochoae, dated after 550, which imitate Laconian or near Eastern examples from about 600 and earlier (see Shefton 1992 passim; Stibbe 1997, 46-48).
- ⁵⁵ Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, 38, Group 2, Subgroup 2B.
- ⁵⁶ Stibbe 1996, 364-366, Fig. 3, Pl. 27, 2-6, dated not long before 600.
- ⁵⁷ See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 169-172.
- ⁵⁸ See J.-Gy. Szilágyi, *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux arts* 46-47 (1976) 9-11; Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 98, 121. For the handle of an (unpublished) bronze volute krater found in southern Bulgaria, see *ibid.* p. 90 n. 3.
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The Potenza Valley Survey: Preliminary Report on Field Campaign 2003

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Abstract

This contribution presents the fourth report about the on-going survey project of Ghent University in the Adriatic valley of the River Potenza (Marches, Italy). The project investigates the settlement history of the valley, essentially between 1000 BC and AD 1000. In 2003 substantial results in the middle and lower valley have been obtained with the help of remote sensing techniques, while the field surveys, geo-archaeological operations and study of surface finds have focussed on the protohistoric and Roman occupation of the coastal area. Quite spectacular were survey results on and around three Roman towns in the valley, contributing to the topographical knowledge of urbanisation in this part of Italy.

INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth preliminary report on field activities in the Potenza Valley Survey.¹ The aims and methods of this long term geo-archaeological project, as well as the preliminary results of the first three field campaigns, respectively in 2000, 2001 and 2002, have also been published in *BABesch*.² The original aim to measure long-term evolutions and changes in the landscape and occupation pattern of a Mediterranean valley between 1000 BC and AD 1000 is still valid. The project's survey-area remains constricted to the circa 80 km long valley of the river Potenza in Adriatic Central-Italy (Marche). Within this broad area three test-zones for more intense fieldwork are chosen, situated in the upper Potenza valley (near Camerino), in the middle valley (near Treia) and in the lower valley (near Porto Recanati).

In 2003 most activities of the PVS-team, especially during field campaigns in spring (April-June) and fall (September-October), were concentrated on the middle and lower valleys. In this report we will present a selection of the most relevant results of these campaigns.³ We will first go into some preliminary results of work in the middle valley. Here, remarkable results have been obtained through our aerial photographic detections during the spring season, followed up by terrain control, systematic cartography and artefact study.⁴ After this, we will focus on the lower valley, where most of our systematic fieldwork during the fall was concentrated. We will present

the main conclusions on geo-archaeological work⁵ and systematic fieldwalking surveys⁶ in the coastal area, integrated with some important data retrieved from the study of the artefacts discovered during our systematic surface collections.⁷

CONTRIBUTION TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE VALLEY ROMAN TOWNS: TREIA AND HELVIA RICINA

In earlier occasions⁸ we have underlined that active aerial oblique photography from a low flying aircraft is one of the main detection techniques being applied in the Potenza Valley Survey. In 2003 we further increased the number of flights and helped by the most favourable conditions of a very dry spring season this procured excellent crop marks during the months of April and May. Not only should we mention the general increase of the number of new archaeological sites and ancient field structures (such as fragments of roads, ditches and pits) all over the valley, but much new information could now be gathered by way of a follow up of some known sites. Very spectacular were the shots taken from the Roman urban sites *Trea* and *Helvia Ricina* in the middle valley (fig. 1). These sites, now largely taken in by agricultural land, already procured some results (especially *Trea*) during our earlier aerial detections. The remarkable contrasts between 'normal' crop growth and 'archaeologically infected' crop growth during a series of flights in early spring incite us, however, to a first detailed study of their urban topography.⁹

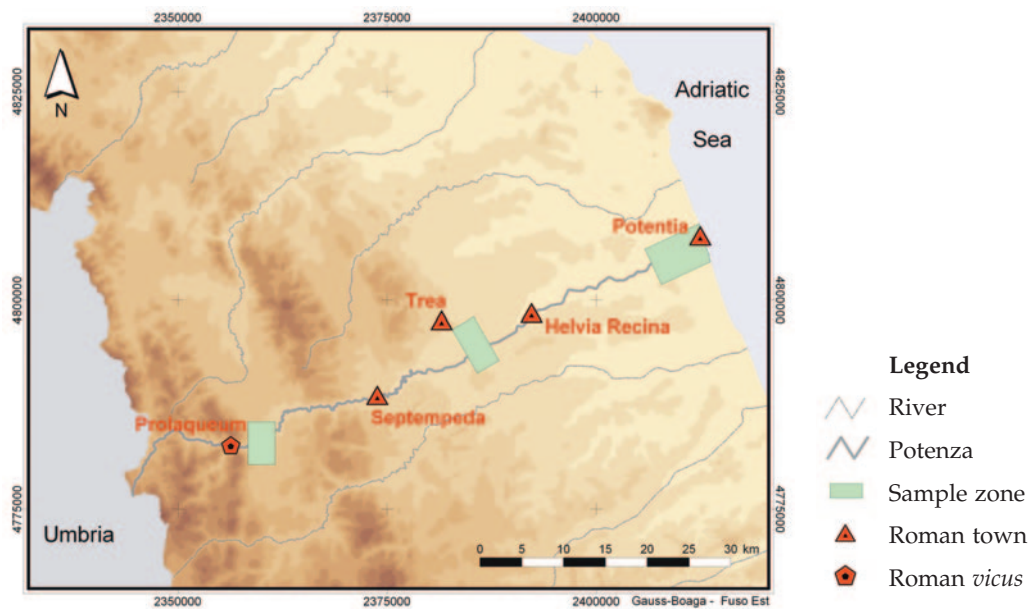


Fig. 1. Localization of the areas of systematic field survey by the PVS-team in the Potenza valley. Indicated are also the Roman towns in the valley.

Trea

The Roman town of *Trea* lies in the middle valley of the Potenza, some 30 km from the Adriatic shore. The hilly area, situated generally between 250 and 350 m above sea level, is characterized here by a narrowing of the valley formed by two axial hillspurs, now respectively occupied by the medieval town centres of Treia and Pollenza. On a dominant plateau, about one km northwest of present day Treia, lays the site of the Roman *municipium Trea*, in an agrarian area around the convento of SS. Crocifisso. According to the *Itinerarium Antonini* the Roman city was located on the *Via Flaminia per Picenum Anconam*, a diverticulum from the main Rome-Rimini road, leading via *Septempeda*, *Trea* and *Auximum* towards Ancona. The only remaining visible ruins are a small section of the city walls connected to the Western gate. They are partly incorporated in a now abandoned farm house.

Since the 16th century many isolated finds and epigraphic monuments concerning *Trea* were discovered in this general area.¹⁰ The first major excavations by Fortunato Benigni in the late 18th century determined the exact location of the town and revealed parts of its city wall, a *basilica* (not exactly located by him somewhere in the western part of town) and a sanctuary with possible thermal building under the cloister of SS. Crocifisso.¹¹ Since the 1970's the University of Macerata intensified research in this area, with surveys and

topographic studies by Moscatelli based on vertical aerial photographs¹² and excavations by Fabrini in the convento compound, in the eastern part of the city, between 1985 and 1988.¹³ These studies produced a first hypothesis about urban organisation, especially the location of the city wall, and evidence that the site of the later monastery and church was in the 2nd century organised as an Egyptian sanctuary.

As a result of this research the main traits of *Trea's* development are now gradually becoming clear, although the precise origin of the site remains unknown. Its location on an elevated plateau could indicate that it was already a pre-Roman centre, possibly later chosen by the Romans to establish one of their controlling *praefecturae*. It became a Roman *municipium* shortly after 49 BC¹⁴ and it is conceivable that its concrete circuit wall, built in a quasi-*reticulatum* technique with blocks of whitish local limestone, was erected around that time.¹⁵ According to the *Liber Coloniarius* the territory of *Trea* was centuriated during the second triumvirate, an intervention which left its trace in the nearby Potenza plain, southwest of the town centre.¹⁶ Many funerary monuments, statuary and epigraphic evidence, now displayed in Treia's Museo Civico, indicate that the Roman town flourished particularly between the reigns of Augustus and Antoninus Pius.¹⁷ Like with many towns in Italy later phases are less well documented. The last epigraphic evidence dates from the 4th century,¹⁸

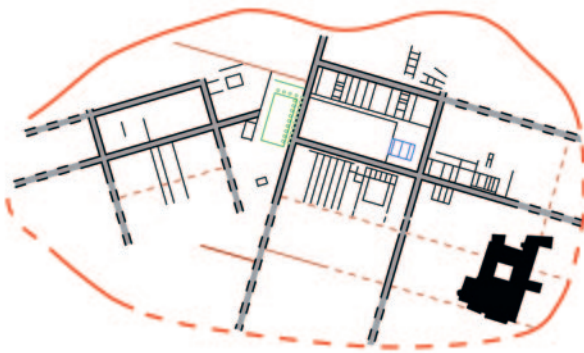


Fig. 2. First tentative reconstruction of the urban topography of Trea with positioning of the city wall (red), the urban grid (with two distinct phases), the forum (central) and the sanctuary of SS. Crocefisso (in black). This scheme, based entirely on the results of our oblique aerial photography, is not to be considered a fully restituted plan, as ground measurements are awaited.

but some archaeological finds (ARS pottery, African lamps and coins) from excavations and surveys prove later (5th and 6th century) habitation in *Trea*, with a coin of the Byzantine emperor Phocas (602-610) as the most recent piece.¹⁹ The Lombard 7th century remains obscure, although an ornamental bronze object and a possible grave of that period suggest some continuity at the site. It is conceivable that during the Early Middle Ages the remaining habitation was restructured in connection with an old 'pieve', a simple early Christian sanctuary for the plebs, here to be located at the site of the SS. Crocefisso. Although this sanctuary is only found in documents from the mid-12th century onwards, many early medieval *spolia* used in the later church of SS. Crocefisso indicate the presence of a much older phase. During the main period of *incastellamento* in Italy the population probably moved towards the easily defendable hill-site of Montecchio (later called Treia), sometime around AD 1000, and the original city site remained almost deserted.

Notwithstanding the fact that *Trea* received full scientific attention these last 30 years, information about the precise extent and urban organization of the Roman city remained very limited and partly hypothetical. This did neither change much during our 2001 PVS-campaign of systematic fieldwork in the territory of *Trea*, organized in the eastern part of the territory of the city,²⁰ nor during the first campaigns of aerial photography. Several of our aerial photography flights in 2002 and especially 2003 over the town-site of *Trea* delivered,

however, spectacular results concerning the urban topography. Many traces of buildings and streets were visible in the grain crops of these two spring seasons and are now being studied, restituted and mapped. They completely revolutionize the current knowledge concerning this *municipium*, altering some of the earlier hypotheses and complementing the current data with a whole series of new identifications. A first and still preliminary interpretation scheme of these crop marks (fig. 2), indicates the location of among others: parts of the circuit wall, the near complete pattern of city streets delineating several regular *insulae*, the *forum* and most of its surrounding public buildings and a whole series of other town structures. As such, almost 70% of the town infrastructure can now be precisely mapped in the near future, when a series of ground control points will have been measured in the field. A succinct terrain control, with systematic sampling of some surface material on the ploughed fields of this area, performed in September 2003, procured additional information for the comprehension of some of these urban structures. A first synthesis of the urban infrastructure of Roman *Trea* can be presented here.

According to our observations the town wall delimitating the main urban area of *Trea* has an irregular oval shape which agrees well with the general topographic configuration of the hilly plateau determining the location of the town (fig. 2). It seems that on its long northern and short western and eastern sides, the trace of the town wall is still more or less preserved in low earthworks bordered by modern roads, while parts of the long southern city limits, lying on the slopes of the small valley of the Rio Palazzolo, have been remarked as distinct crop marks on some of our oblique photographs. The wall traces seen from the air were locally confirmed in the fields in September 2003 as c. 6 m wide linear zones with surface concentrations of white limestone rubble and pinkish mortar. As such, the total city area delimited by a circuit wall is probably only about 10 ha.²¹ This does however not exclude the existence of extramural habitation areas, particularly in eastern and western directions where the less articulated topography allows it.

The aerial images produced good evidence for the *decumanus maximus*, cutting the city in two halves from east to west. This c. 6 m wide pale crop mark of a probably paved structure represents the main street of town around which most of the urban grid was developed. This road enters the city by the western gate, near the upstanding remains of a tower compound in *opus quasi-retic-*

ulatum. After some 150 m this *decumanus maximus* shows a strong knick point, bending its orientation in an ESE direction, to continue in a straight line towards the probable location of an eastern gate. The *decumanus maximus* could well correspond with the *Via Flaminia* towards Ancona, but we suspect that its prolongation in a south-eastern direction, parallel with the Rio Palazzolo, brings it into the Potenza plain, where it joined the valley road towards *Potentia* at the site of a small *vicus* under present-day Villa Patens.²²

As a result of this knick point, the pattern of the town streets and buildings shows two different predominant orientations (fig. 2). The smaller western part of town corresponds with the highest part of the plateau.²³ The crop marks of streets and buildings in this area were more confusing, with indications for several phases of urban development. Still, it is possible to observe the existence of a series of narrower streets parallel with and perpendicular to the main east-west axis. They seem to demarcate several regular *insulae* but the picture is too precarious to conclude about their exact dimensions. Several building structures are present in this amalgam of linear structures, most of which could belong to houses, but it is too early for a definite interpretation. Surface survey showed the presence of several zones with mosaic floors (fig. 3), while also different pieces of marble and red painted stucco (fig. 4.6) were recovered here. Remarkable building material that came to light were several fragments of *tubuli* and a profiled marble pedestal or cornice of a small monument (fig. 5).

Many pottery finds confirm the partial function as habitation quarters: we mention some vernice nera and terra sigillata, e.g. the rim of a rather common plate type Dragendorff 17A (fig. 6.6), dated from the Augustan era to the mid 1st century AD.²⁴ A painted example of the regional terra sigillata medio-adriatica was also found. It is interesting to note that most Republican surface finds were observed in this sector of town. This could mean that this highest part of the city, which comprised the source of the Rio Palazzolo brook,²⁵ was also the area of the earliest settlement. Also interesting is the presence here of more late Roman finds, such as 4th to 5th century African Red Slip pottery, perhaps an indication for more continuity of settlement in this part of town. This was particularly the case around the area we defined as the Western square, an open possibly more open area near the southern edge of this western part of *Trea*. The few pieces of *tesserae* and marble found here contrasted with a large number of pottery

sherds. Some handles of a new type Rhodian amphora (see below) and Lamboglia 2-Dressel 6 must be situated in the last quarter of the 1st century BC or in 1st century AD. Terra sigillata is well represented with the rather common rims of plates type Dragendorff 17A, dated from the Augustan era to the middle of the 1st century AD.²⁶ Two particular decorated pieces of terra sigillata need special attention: both most probably belong to the group of Dragendorff 11 stemmed *kantharoi* and show respectively an egg frieze and a flower motive (fig. 6.7-8).²⁷ These beakers are alleged to be typically Augustan. Considering glaze (orange to brown), fabric and decoration (incised motives), a profiled rim fragment of a thin walled terra sigillata bowl could be of eastern origin, although no parallel was found (fig. 6.9). Another possibility is an Italic origin, maybe to be compared with the types Pucci 31 and 34.²⁸ Different complete examples of two-handled thin walled beakers with incised decoration from the northern necropolis of *Potentia* can be compared to a rim fragment with a broken-off handle. They seem common in the last quarter of the 1st century and the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. An early African Red Slip type, Hayes 8A/Lamboglia 1b was also found here (fig. 6.10).²⁹ As remarked, especially the late Roman pottery, tableware and amphorae, was fairly abundant. A late amphora worth mentioning is the inferior wall fragment of an Aegean Late Roman 3 (4th-6th century AD; fig. 6.11).

The larger eastern part of town gives much more precise information concerning the urban layout. The aerial views made us distinguish a whole series of buildings and public areas, as well as several streets constituting the backbone of the urban space within this orderly laid out sector of town (fig. 2). The streets with an estimated average width of some 4 m describe a regular grid of *insulae*, having their longitudinal axis oriented parallel with the central *decumanus maximus*. By extrapolating the visible crop marks on our oblique aerial images with information from earlier topographic observations, such as vertical aerial photographs³⁰ and the presence of the excavated structures under SS. Crocefisso,³¹ we can propose the existence of at least eight rectangular *insulae* with regular dimensions of 3 by 1 *actus* (c. 105x35 m). The shape and dimensions of a series of more irregular additional *insulae* lying in the periphery are conditioned by the presence of the circuit wall.

A full *insula*, lying almost centrally in the city, immediately north of the *decumanus maximus* is clearly the *forum* (fig. 7 and 8). It is composed of an

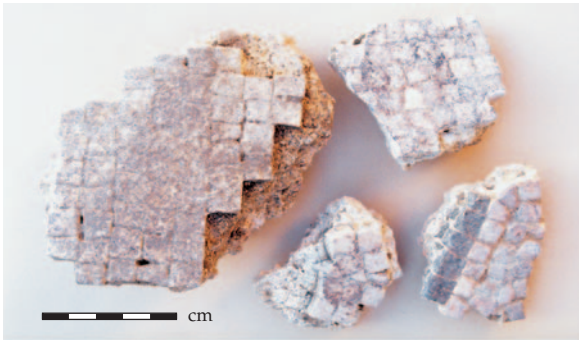


Fig. 3. Tesserae from the Roman town of Trea.

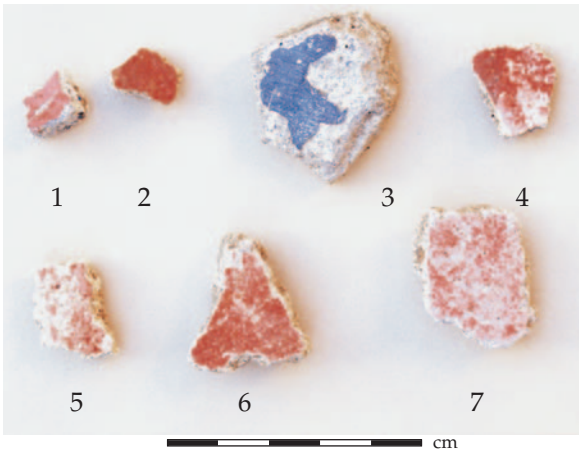


Fig. 4. Stucco from the Roman town of Helvia Ricina (1), the rural temple area in its vicinity (2) and from the Roman town of Trea (3-7).

open rectangular square,³² bordered on three sides (north, west and south) by porticoes. Centrally placed on its eastern side is the configuration of a rectangular and axially placed building of some 20 by 10 m. Its position, as well as the large surface concentration of marble *crustae* fragments as well as a few pieces of stucco (fig. 4.3) found on this spot, facilitate the determination as temple of the *capitolium* type. The podium building is clearly subdivided in an approach with stairs, a deep *pronaos* and a *cella* with internal infrastructure for the statuary of the venerated deity.³³ Both south and north of the *forum* the porticoes border rows of narrow rectangular buildings with their short sides towards the square, clearly shops or *tabernae*. A larger and more complex building in the south-east corner, however, could well be a *macellum*. It is probably a building with several rooms centred around a paved courtyard. It is oriented towards the square with a northern short side of at least some 25 m, while the exact length cannot be



Fig. 5. Marble cornice from the temple area in Trea.

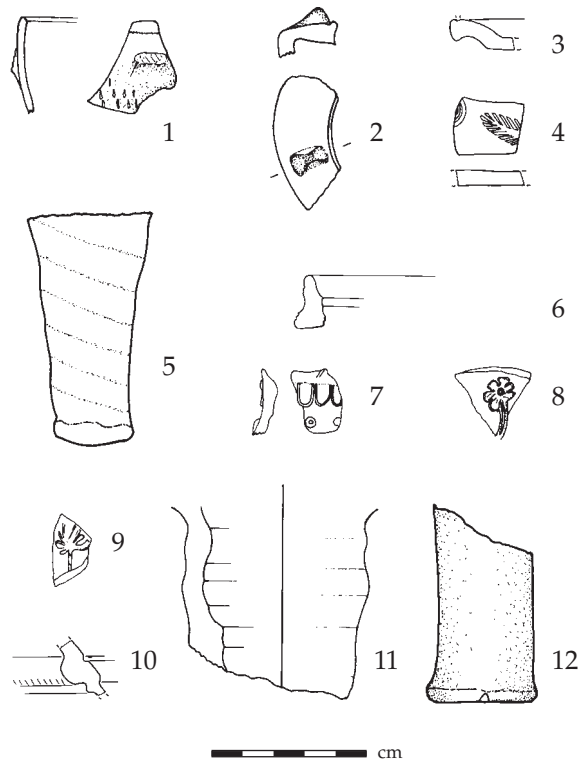


Fig. 6. Material from Trea.



Fig. 7. Oblique aerial view taken in April 2003 on the regularly organised central-eastern part of Trea.

determined yet. The area of the possible *macellum* yielded several pieces of profiled marble, a substantial number of *tesserae* as well as some red painted stucco (fig. 4.4-5). The *tesserae* consisted of small cubical examples next to rectangular and baculiform ones, all executed in grey and white. African Red Slip was also present here: Hayes 50 and Hayes 67 (fig. 6.3).³⁴

Finally, the *forum* is bordered to the west by the long side of a large rectangular building, clearly planned as part of the *forum* complex. The building is probably lined on its other sides by a series of shops and its total dimensions approach 35 by 20 m. A function as *basilica* is not only suggested by its position and typology but also by the many surface fragments of rich marble building materials (*crustae*, *opus sectile* fragments, *tesserae*) as well as a few pieces of red stucco (fig. 4.7) found on this location. Among the pottery finds Roman thin walled ware was present as well as fragments of vernice nera. A most remarkable find was a small gem, once part of a ring (fig. 9). It is made of green glass-paste and shows the image of a naked Mars

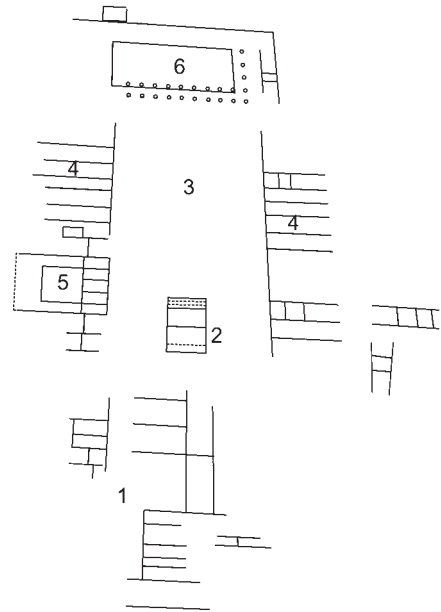


Fig. 8. The (not yet geographically restituted) transcript of the crop marks on fig. 7 clearly shows the presence of among others: 1. decumanus maximus, 2. temple, 3. forum square, 4. tabernae, 5. macellum?, 6. basilica.

with helmet and spear. A large number of African Red Slip sherds were found here such as several pieces of type Hayes 50 as well as a stamped example. The stamp consists of a concentric circle motif (probably type Hayes 26) and a palm motif (type Hayes 1) (fig. 6.4). These finds prolong intensive occupation into the 5th century AD.³⁵ Such a long use is also suggested for a series of undistinguished buildings located immediately south of the *basilica*, in an area now scattered with *tesserae* and pottery. Some typical broad rims of locally made cooking pots (*caccabus*) in coarse, orange brown fabric found here, can be dated in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. This zone also yielded a lot of late Roman pottery like African Red Slip and two spikes of North African *spatheia* (4th-5th century AD).

The whole spatial setting of this monumental centre displays the typical features of a planned *forum* with a dominating sanctuary of the *capitolium* type, a *basilica* on the opposite side and rows of shops and a food market behind monumental porticoes lined with columns. Although we see an obvious resemblance with several early Imperial

Italian *fora*,³⁶ and many fragments of Roman pottery were found during surface control, we are unable to propose a date in this stage of research. It seems however likely that this *forum*, and with it the whole gridded central and eastern sector of *Trea* was only constructed under the reign of Augustus, when much epigraphy was produced, or under his immediate successors.

At some distance from this *forum* and especially along the main *decumanus*, which bordered the square on its southern long side, we clearly distinguish crop marks of several buildings oriented in accordance with the grid. According to the surface scatters connected with some of these buildings (e.g. mosaic *tesserae*, *tubuli*, painted stucco and fine pottery) and their more intricate multi-room plans, some seem to display a great deal of comfort. They could be of the extensive *domus* type, although in a few cases a public function (e.g. *thermae*) and simple *tabernae* should be considered. Most of the diagnostic finds are Imperial. A considerable number of very fragmented terra sigillata sherds surfaced in this area. A rim with broken handle of a grey thin walled cup (fig. 6.1) is related to some examples in the necropolis 'La Pineta', north of the Roman town of *Potentia*.³⁷ A Fimalamp (fig. 6.2) gives a general date in the 1st and the 2nd centuries AD. Late Roman occupation is attested by the presence of a *spatheion* (fig. 6.5).

Fragments of metal slag found in the north-eastern sector of town are possibly indications for local artisan activity in a part of town with less pronounced crop features.

To conclude, the pottery and other finds on the surface do not (yet?) indicate pre-Roman settlement in *Trea*, but late Republican finds are enough frequent to suggest an already important occupation during the 1st century BC. Most survey artefacts confirm the expansion during the first two centuries of Imperial rule, while they also clearly suggest continued human presence into the 5th century. Further fieldwork and more pottery studies are awaited before we can refine these data.

Helvia Ricina

The Roman city of *Helvia Ricina*, of which only a rather well preserved theatre building is fully visible above ground level today, lies in an area where the middle Potenza valley transforms into the lower valley, some 15 km inland from the river mouth (fig. 1). Although a series of investigations were done in the past to understand the character and extent of this city, almost nothing



Fig. 9. Gem from Trea.

was known about its general layout and organization until the start of the PVS-project.³⁸ Already since the 15th century local scholars have studied the many, then still standing remains of this Roman town. These early and often erudite studies have been well synthesised by Nereo Alfieri in 1937. According to most archaeological finds and inscriptions the city has to be located on the immediate left bank of the river Potenza, in an area today partly occupied by the small roadside agglomeration of Villa Potenza, partly still used as arable land. This location was not random as it marks the crossroads of the here in antiquity probably still navigable river³⁹ and the important crossroads of the *Salaria Gallica* (connecting *Urbs Salvia* with *Aesis*) and a diverticulum of the *Via Flaminia* along the Potenza corridor to *Potentia* (where it joins the coastal road *Ancona-Aternum/Pescara*). According to scarce information from small scale rescue digs in several parts of town, the site knew an already quite extensive occupation since the later 2nd century BC.⁴⁰ A segment of a SW-NE oriented street lined with shops, found near the modern day Septempedana road that runs parallel with the river, was probably arranged in that time.⁴¹ Most data about the urbane phase of the site are however to be placed between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD. *Helvia Ricina*

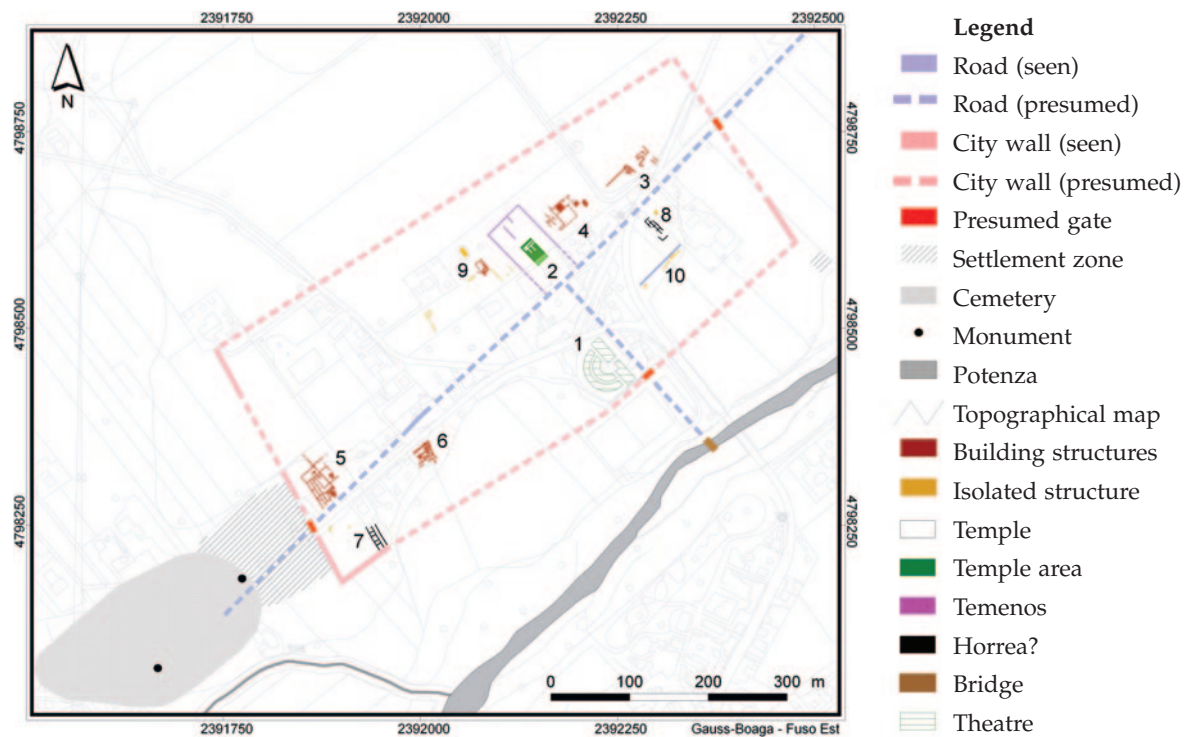


Fig. 10. First tentative plan of the city of Helvia Ricina, including information from our aerial photography, field checks and previous excavations and discoveries. Major structures observed during aerial reconnaissance: 1. theatre, 2. temple, 3.-6. domus, 7.-8. horrea/tabernae?, 9. monumental building with cistern, 10. street and adjoining structures.

became a Roman *municipium* from the mid-1st century onwards, when also the first colonists, veterans of the civil wars, were settled here. The city flourished in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, according to a series of funerary monuments and inscriptions probably originating from a cemetery located southwest of the settlement,⁴² to the construction of an aqueduct⁴³ and to the building here of the largest theatre in *Picenum*.⁴⁴ During the 2nd century much public building work was accomplished and squares and streets were re-metalled.⁴⁵ Most discoveries of scarce elements of a thermal complex (near the theatre)⁴⁶ and of small parts of houses with mosaic floors⁴⁷ are dated in this century. Already in the first half of the 2nd century, city finances seemed to dwindle, when a *curator rei publicae Riciniensium* was installed here. Under Septimius Severus (AD 205) the city became a colony under the name *Helvia Ricina Pertinax*, in honour of his predecessor, and plans were made to restructure the town, but unfinished sculptures seem to indicate that most of these plans were never executed.⁴⁸ After this, written sources remain silent and only some

building structures (mosaic pavements) found in the south-western part of town date certainly from the 4th century. The area of the street with shops was also occupied until the 4th century, but two graves found above the settlement structures indicate a later shrinking of the city, sometime in Late Antiquity. Not much more is known of the Late Antique evolution of *Ricina*, which suffered possibly from barbaric incursions during the 5th and 6th centuries. The remaining population no doubt sought new living areas in the hills east and west of this valley site. Until late medieval times the ruins were well preserved,⁴⁹ but now only the theatre and some minor structural remains are visible above ground.

The first aerial photography campaigns by the PVS-team on the site of *Helvia Ricina* gave no results at all. The spring 2003 campaign, followed up by surface sampling of artefact scatters in September of that year, has however fundamentally altered this state of affairs.⁵⁰ At present, we can firmly put forward many new elements regarding the town's topographic situation, its overall layout and its probable extension and wall



Fig. 11. Aerial view made in April 2003 of crop marks in the central and eastern part of Helvia Ricina with traces of the main temple (2), a domus with mosaic floors (4) and a building with preserved cistern (9).

circuit, and propose functions for several buildings of public and private signature newly discovered from the air (fig. 10).

The confrontation of our obliquely photographed information with results of ground survey in arable land shows indeed that the city was situated on the left bank of the river. Pale crop marks, some 5 m wide, noticed in several fields give us a fair idea about the presence of a town wall. The position of the circuit wall is still partly hypothetical in some zones and further checking with geophysical or other methods will be necessary. Nevertheless we can already state that it seems to delimit a fairly regular and quite flat, almost rectangular area of about 22 ha, well positioned between the Potenza valley floor and the trace of a now disappeared subsidiary brook, which once flowed more or less parallel with the river.⁵¹ The wall was traceable in the field by a slight difference in surface level and by the occurrence of concentrations of gravel and fragments of limestone building material. Its position could be well mapped near the southern and eastern corners of the town area, while its trace in the northern and western area remains somewhat uncertain. Part of the southern longitudinal side of the town wall is most probably erased by the action of river erosion and sub-recent human interference, most likely gravel exploitation.⁵²

The Roman town was more or less centrally crossed, from southwest to northeast, by the valley road between *Trea* and *Potentia*, acting here as *decumanus maximus* of the street network. This main street, which today is almost completely covered by modern housing and roads, was locally excavated in the 1960's, together with a row of late Republican shops lining its northern fringes.⁵³ Clear-cut *insulae* cannot yet be distinguished on the aerial images, but some short linear crop marks of possible urban roads in the eastern part of town suggest the existence of a system of several fairly regular streets parallel with or perpendicular to this *decumanus*. One probable main northwest-southeast axis, now covered by the agglomeration of Villa Potenza and therefore not seen from the air, could have been connected with the former Roman bridge over the Potenza, which earlier archaeological observations have located a few meters upstream from the current bridge.⁵⁴ This street, if confirmed by further fieldwork, could have linked the *decumanus maximus* with the Roman bridge, passing directly in front of (and parallel with!) the *scaena* building of the theatre along its way.⁵⁵

Near the intersection of this N-S axis (the *cardo maximus*?) and the main *decumanus* we can now propose the location of the *forum* of this town. Although today a major part of this ancient city centre is built over by the houses and streets of Villa Potenza, we were able to distinguish in the crops of the arable fields north of this central area several large Roman buildings. One of them is clearly a temple precinct (fig. 11 and 8.2). This can be deduced from its typical plan, some above ground *in situ* remains of Roman concrete walls (*opus testaceum*) and from a series of diagnostic surface finds, such as marble fragments with fine architectural decorations, all pointing at an early Imperial date. The plan suggests the presence of a rectangular building (dimensions min. 18 by 33 m), with a NW-SE orientation and almost centrally placed in a precinct of some 55 m wide and at least 90 m long. The imposing building, probably the main temple of *Helvia Ricina*, was oriented towards and perpendicular to the presumed *decumanus maximus* and possibly bordered a *forum* square located south of the sanctuary.⁵⁶ Near the core of the building was found a large piece of an Ionic or Corinthian style marble cornice with dentils (fig. 12). Intact and fragmented *tegulae* and *imbrices* were piled up next to the remaining wall structures and some *tesserae* were visible in this area. It is not known to which god the sanctuary was dedicated, but epigraphic ded-

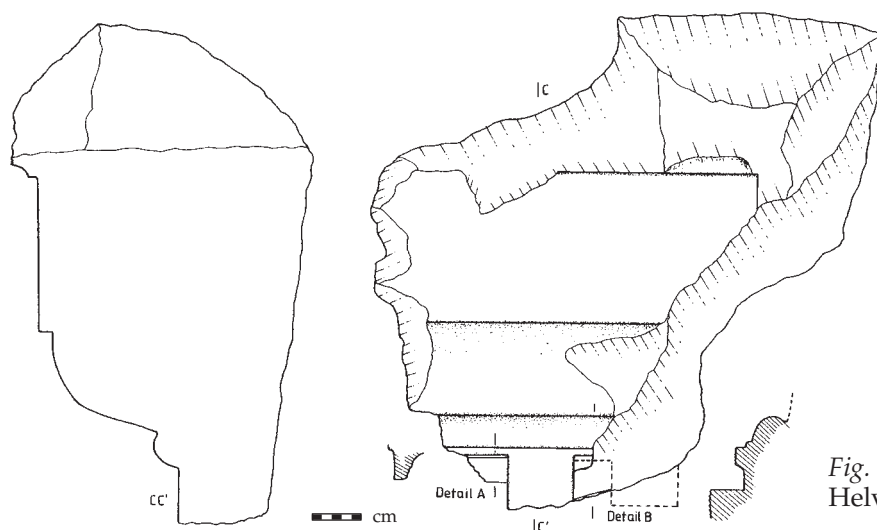


Fig. 12. Marble cornice from Helvia Ricina.

ications to Augustus, Jupiter and Mercury are known from this town⁵⁷ and an identification as a *capitolium*-type temple for Jupiter or Augustus seems therefore reasonable.

Traces of other building structures observed in the fields near the temple concern complexes situated near the probable *forum* and along or near the main EW street of the city. Among the structures of several buildings seen immediately NE of the temple, we distinguish a large building with a complex array of rooms, possibly surrounding an *atrium* and a *peristylum*. This entity could represent an important *domus*. Except for its typical plan this interpretation is indicated by the presence of at least two rooms with tessellated or tiled floors, as can be concluded from intense surface scatters of such building materials in corresponding locations of pale rectangular crop marks in the field. In the area of the *domus* floor 1 a great number of *tesserae*, mostly white, some pinkish, were present. The *tesserae* found near *domus* floor 2 were generally rectangular or baculiform, and of a white, grey or pink colour. The presence of much fine and coarse pottery of Imperial date and of painted stucco sustain the domestic hypothesis. The presence of fragments of Forlimpopoli amphorae brings us into the 2nd century AD (fig. 13.4). A piece of African Red Slip belongs to the type Hayes 53B (fig. 13.6).

To the SW of the temple at least two separate buildings are indicated by several still standing wall structures in *opus testaceum*, as well as by corresponding crop marks of walls. As one of the standing features is identified in the field as a large cistern, measuring 12 by 5.35 m, one could suppose that a thermal complex or other public

facility for the intensive use or storage of water was located in this sector. Most chronological indications from the intense surface scatters of building materials and pottery in this whole central sector of the city point to activities during the Principate, although some Republican and late Imperial sherds were also found. This area SW of the temple was still occupied in late Roman times, as is testified by a late Roman amphora of the *spatheion* type and of a presumably Late Roman 2 amphora found here (fig. 13.3).

A probable habitation area situated north-east of the Roman theatre, showed several linear crop marks indicating buildings, whose final plan cannot be drawn yet. This sector revealed however a rich variety of material of the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Early are several vernice nera fragments and amphora handles of the new Rhodian type. An Arretine stamp of Philologus dates from the early Augustan age (fig. 14).⁵⁸ A rather degenerated type of a Fimalamp points to the 2nd century AD or even later (fig. 13.2). Amongst the African Red Slip the common type Hayes 61B, dated in the 5th century AD, was identified. A fragment of African Red Slip Kitchen Ware has a chronological range from early to late Imperial times.⁵⁹ Finally a tile of an *opus spicatum* floor was recovered.

Better crop marks of Roman buildings were discovered in the south-western zone of the intramural city area. Most of these structures are connected with the *decumanus maximus*. Two concentrations of buildings with a complex organisation of rooms (fig. 8.5 and 6) could again belong to large city houses. Their intricate wall structures, as well as their dense surface scatters of artefacts

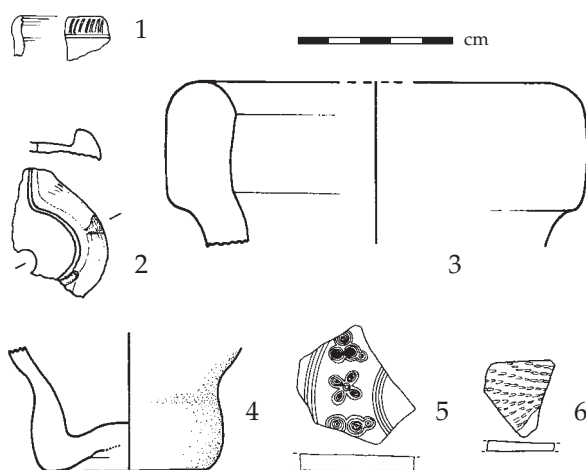


Fig. 13. Material from Helvia Ricina.

indicate a long life of these houses, with possibly repeated restructuring of the domestic architecture. In the area of a domus located near the former AGIP service station⁶⁰ several pieces of hexagonal tiles were found. The presence of square tiles and specific linear crop marks could indicate a *hypocaustum* floor and an aqueduct. Apart from late Republican and early Imperial finds, especially the late Roman phase (4th-5th century) with several imports of African Red Slip seems well represented. Some of the pottery finds illustrate this continuity well. The rim of a cup Ritterling 5-Goudineau 27 points to the first half of the 1st century AD (fig. 13.1).⁶¹ A piece of north-Italian sigillata (rim of a plate Dragendorff 15/17-Goudineau 28)⁶² and rims of Lamboglia 2-Dressel amphorae (fig. 13.3) date in the late 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. In this area was found a fragment of an African Red Slip plate with an elaborate stamp (fig. 13.5). The stamp consists of two trefoil patterns without stem and a flower motif with four leaves. The exact pattern could not be traced. The flower stamp resembles a motif often used on lamps (Ennabli I4). This flower motif is related to a stamp from the excavations of the Monte Torto in Osimo.⁶³ In the area of a domus near the Western gate some terra sigillata medio-adriatica and African Red Slip type Hayes 53B were found.

Interesting is also the presence, in this area near the southern city wall, of linear crop marks that could belong to a commercial building complex (fig. 8.7). The regular array in a row of similar rectangular rooms, flanked by a corridor or portico suggests a possible identification of *horrea* or a set of *tabernae*. The presence in the field of many *dolia* and some amphora sherds, as well as



Fig. 14. Terra sigillata stamp from Helvia Ricina.

the economically well suited location of the complex at the city edge and near the (ancient) river bed of the Potenza support this idea.

Finally we must mention a few linear traces visible in two extramural zones, probably indicating an extension of habitation outside the located city wall. To the immediate southwest of town, outside the probable SW-city gate⁶⁴ and along the road to *Trea*, such a small settlement area lies between the city wall and the Roman cemetery which was located here by earlier discoveries.⁶⁵ Also outside the NE exit of the main road around which this city was developed, some crop marks confirmed by a wider scatter of Roman surface material indicate such an extramural settlement. We cannot exclude that more extramural activity zones existed around this town, such as near the bridge and even on the other side of the Potenza, but the modern village inhibits a good evaluation of these phenomena.

A first and fairly general evaluation of the still small sample of datable surface finds seems to confirm the general date obtained from earlier excavations in *Ricina*. As can be expected from surface material, the late Republican finds are somewhat underrepresented, while the late Roman finds suggest an important occupation of this town at least into the 5th century.

To conclude this presentation of the most exciting discoveries in and around *Helvia Ricina*, we must certainly mention the site of a rural temple, detected and identified by aerial photography in 2003, on a hillslope at short distance northwest of the city centre (fig. 15). The structure of a classic rectangular temple with wide walls delimiting a *pronaos* and *cella*, maximum some 18 m long to 9 m



Fig. 15. Oblique aerial photograph taken in 2003 of cropmarks indicating a Roman rural temple near Helvia Ricina.



Fig. 16. Terra sigillata stamp from the rural temple area in the vicinity of Helvia Ricina.



Fig. 17. Glass from the rural temple area in the vicinity of Helvia Ricina.

wide, was well visible in the crops. Field checking in September confirmed this interpretation. The scatter of fragments of white marble from *crustae* and marble building blocks, as well as the concentration of roof tiles and pieces of Roman concrete, neatly covered the area of the crop marks seen in spring. Small bits of red painted stucco were also found (fig. 4.2) Many other building materials were discovered at the edge of the arable field, as is often the case in this agricultural landscape, kept clean by the peasants who work the fields. Some pottery and glass found on the premises could indicate a date of the temple in the early Imperial period. The first part of a terra sigillata stamp on an undefined vessel (fig. 16), and the find of a wall fragment of a millefiori glass vessel (fig. 17.2) suggest a date at the end of the 1st century BC or in the 1st century AD. Also of early Imperial date is the combed handle of a glass bottle Isings 50 or 51 (fig.17.1).

SURVEYING THE COASTAL PLAIN AROUND THE POTENZA MOUTH

The area in the lower Potenza valley, which was intensively surveyed in the field during the 2002⁶⁶ and 2003 campaigns, is situated near the mouth of the Potenza. The medieval rooted hilltop towns of Potenza Picena (235 m) and Recanati (293 m), as well as the Adriatic coastline border this test zone of some 25 km². Porto Recanati is the main seaside resort in a sandy flat beach area, which is crossed from north to south by the railway, the national road Ancona-Pescara and the motorway Bologna-Bari. The hinterland is mostly used for agriculture and dispersed habitation, but there is also an industrial zone in expansion. The most important archaeological foci are the strategic protohistoric hilltop site of Montarice, located on the northern valley slope, and the Roman colonial town of *Potentia*, lying near the original river mouth almost central in the present day alluvial plain.

During the 2003 field season the PVS team was active in different types of research here. Aerial photography comprised our classic technique of detection and follow up of sites and landscape features from a low flying aircraft, including a first test with special digital photography in view of creating a digital terrain model of the Montarice site. Systematic non-destructive line-walking with the collection of surface artefacts continued in those parts of the area that were not yet walked in 2002.⁶⁷ The team of geomorphologists continued their fieldwork in order to establish the

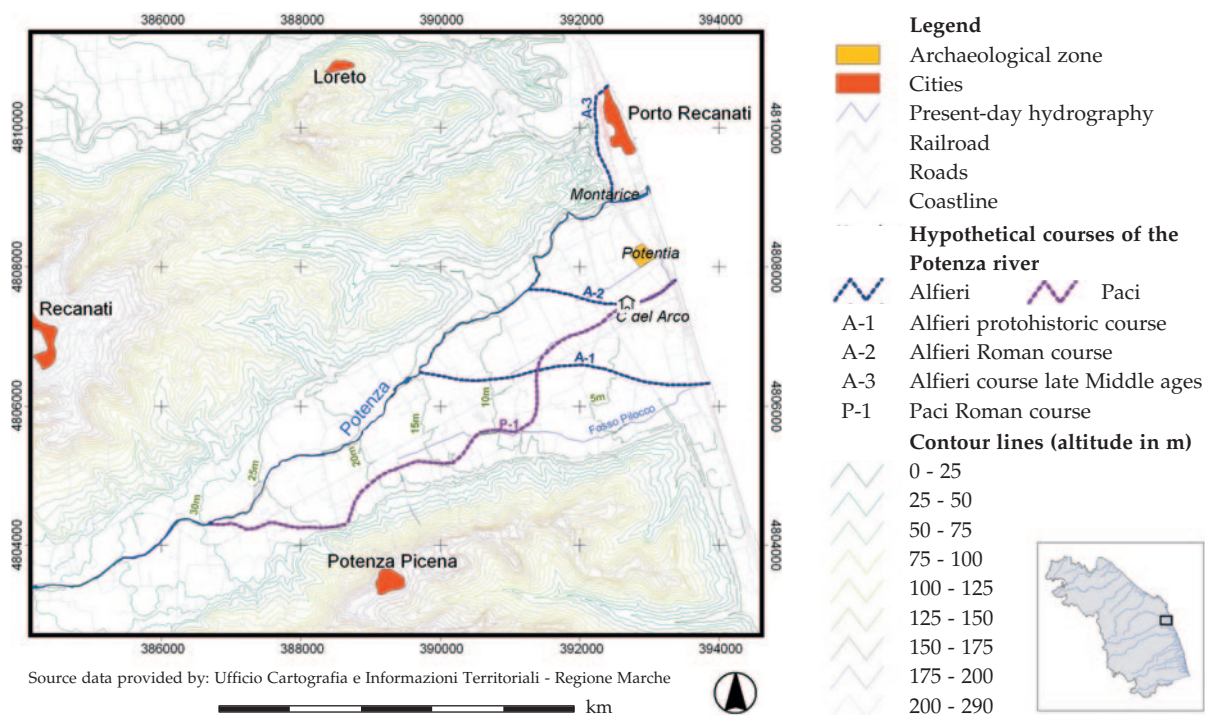


Fig. 18. Hypotheses about diversions of the Potenza river in the most important literature.

ancient river beds of the Potenza, with the use of such techniques as hand-augering, geo-electrical measurements and fine altimetric survey. Finally, the processing and analysis of the surface finds from this area progressed well. In the following pages we will synthesize and integrate the new data obtained so far.

A river landscape in evolution

In our 2002 report we already emphasized the importance of a changing landscape in which natural and anthropogenic causes interact.⁶⁸ This is certainly the case during the protohistoric and historic development of the landscape surrounding the Potenza river mouth, where changes of coastline and river bed are predominant features (fig. 18). The main aim of the geo-archaeological study in the coastal plain is to reconstruct these river diversions and coastline shifting during the period concerned and to relate them to the archaeological sites present in the area. The used methodology includes: literature study; geomorphologic fieldwork with aid of maps and aerial photographs (both vertical and oblique), geo-electrical survey combined with hand augering (an optimal study method for depositional environments) and altimetric survey for the detection of

micro-topographical features. Key field samples will be dated with radiocarbon and OSL in the near future, so will an accurate determination of the molluscs found in the auger samples. Furthermore, a detailed geomorphological map of the area is in construction. So far, 5 geo-electrical transects and 45 augering locations combined in a month of geomorphologic fieldwork in the coastal plain, have enabled us to present some first conclusions.

Our first research hypothesis - before aerial photographs were in our possession - stated that the Potenza in protohistory would have been roughly in the same position as nowadays, fringing Montarice, would then have been displaced to the south to flow under the Roman bridge, and would only recently have been diverted again, possibly with the purpose of reclaiming coastal land. As the partly preserved Roman bridge at Casa dell'Arco,⁶⁹ which according to our aerial photographs once carried the road *Urbs Salvia-Pausulae-Potentia*, was the most reliable piece of information, the first augering was carried out on this site. The typical fining upwards sequence affirmed that this is a fluvial type profile (fig. 19 and 20). Radiocarbon dating of charcoal in the sediments at this location is consistent, with younger sediments nearer to the surface.⁷⁰ The dates pointed out that the Potenza would have

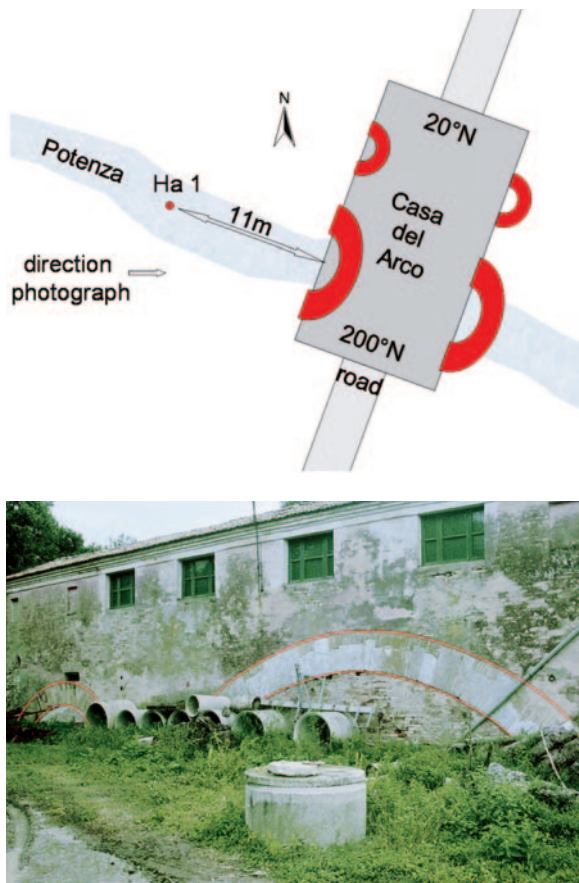


Fig. 19. The probable Roman course of the Potenza river and the Casa dell'Arco site.

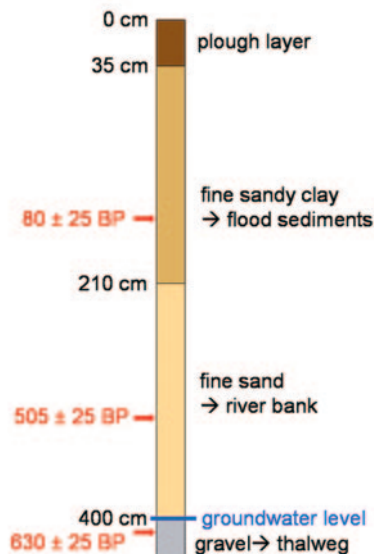
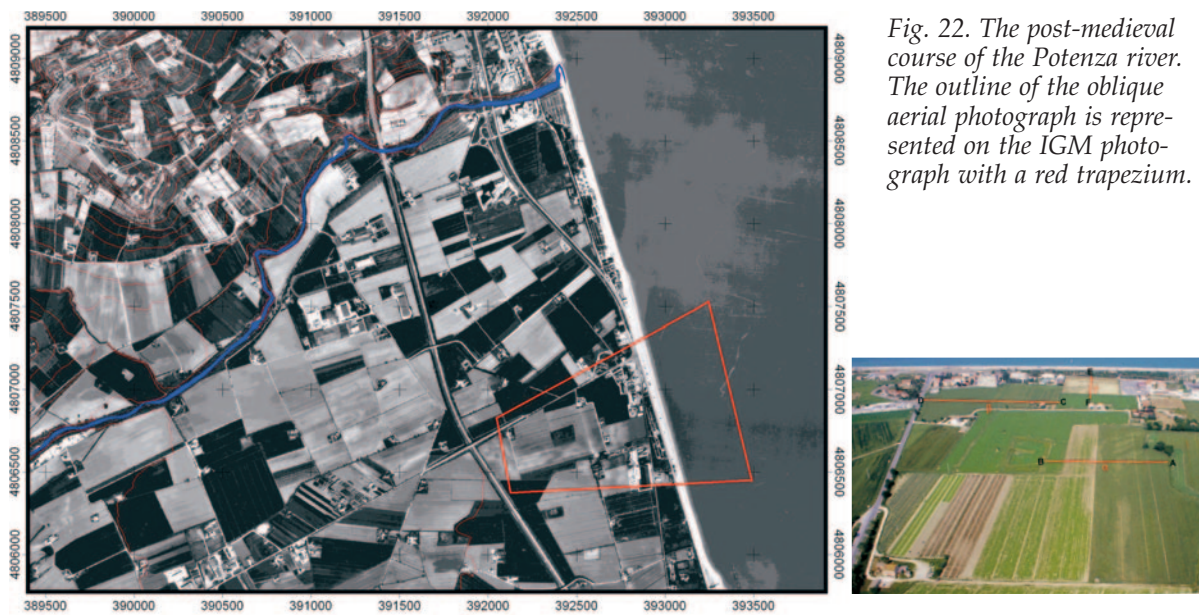
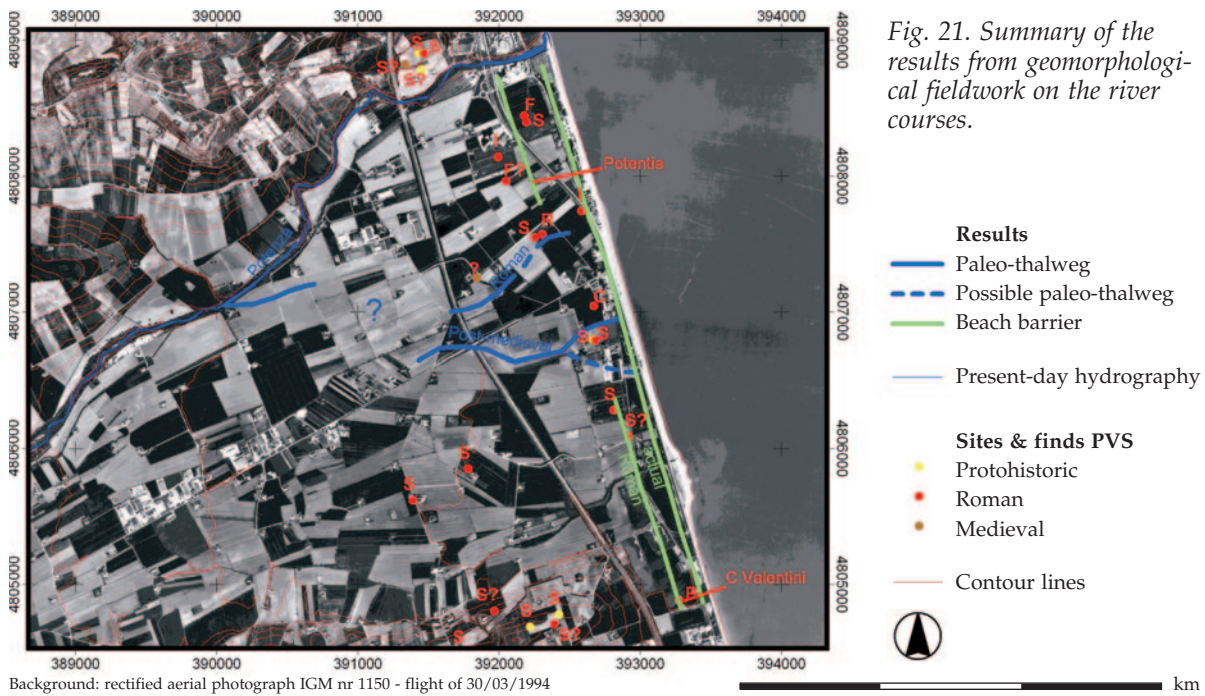


Fig. 20. Core near the Roman bridge of Casa dell'Arco.

flowed under this Roman bridge until the late Middle Ages: the sample just above the gravel bed was dated 630 ± 25 year BP, which can be situated with 95.4% confidence between 1290 and 1400 AD. This means that this river bed was deserted and started silting up in the 14th century. Augering 4, 5 and 7 displayed a similar fining upwards sequence, which makes it very probable that they evidence the same water course. Another radiocarbon dating of the lower filling sediments at augering 5 provided a date of 355 ± 30 year BP, or between 1450 and 1640 AD with 95.4% confidence, which does not impair the postulated start of the silting during the 14th century. Another argument for assuming a more southward course of the Roman Potenza is the position of the two now buried Roman beach ridges investigated by other augerings: they have an opening more southwards than the present river mouth. The resulting reconstruction of the course of the Roman Potenza - at that time called *Flosis* - is reported in fig. 21.

In the post-medieval period more changes have occurred to the river bed and these can again be well traced. On several vertical and oblique photographs, checked in the field, we remarked that some 500 m south of the Roman course of the Potenza, bands of gravel have been ploughed up to the surface. These pale soil marks were investigated with geo-electrical transects (α and β) and a series of hand augerings. The resistivity profile of transect α revealed a number of plateaus (fig. 22), each of which received a sedimentological meaning after augering: the highest resistivity in the centre coincides with gravel near the surface, the lower resistivity flanking this was engendered by predominantly sandy sediments, and the lowest resistivity at the beginning and end of the transect indicate the presence of clay. On an interpretation level, this can be correlated with a gravel bed, sandy river banks and clayey overbank sediments, in other words: a thalweg. This thalweg, indicating an ancient river course, should be younger than the 'Roman' one, since it is found nearer to the surface and thus its overbank deposits likely have covered the 'Roman' ones. This explains why the Roman course is much less visible on aerial photographs, and is confirmed by the age and nature of the retrieved sediments in hand augering 1 (fig. 19): fine sandy clays.

Today the Potenza flows in the extreme north of its coastal plain, unlike most other rivers in the Marche. Detailed field study helped us demonstrate that the present day itinerary of the river is not natural. Firstly, the exact location where the actual



Potenza left its previous bed could be retrieved easily by geomorphologic reasoning: the bed of the present Potenza changes drastically in aspect at about 3.5 km from the coast, from a broad and natural looking river bed with ample gravel bars upstream (fig. 23a), to a deep and narrow passage downstream (fig. 23b). The most convincing argument, however, is furnished by topographical sur-

vey. It was found that the broad bed has been formed in a terrace situated 10.9 m above sea level, while the narrower passage downstream incises in a terrace 12.9 m above sea level, as can equally be noted in fig. 22. Considering that water always flows downhill, this course cannot be natural. Furthermore, a buried fluvial fining upwards sequence was found at augering 44 (fig. 23-A44),

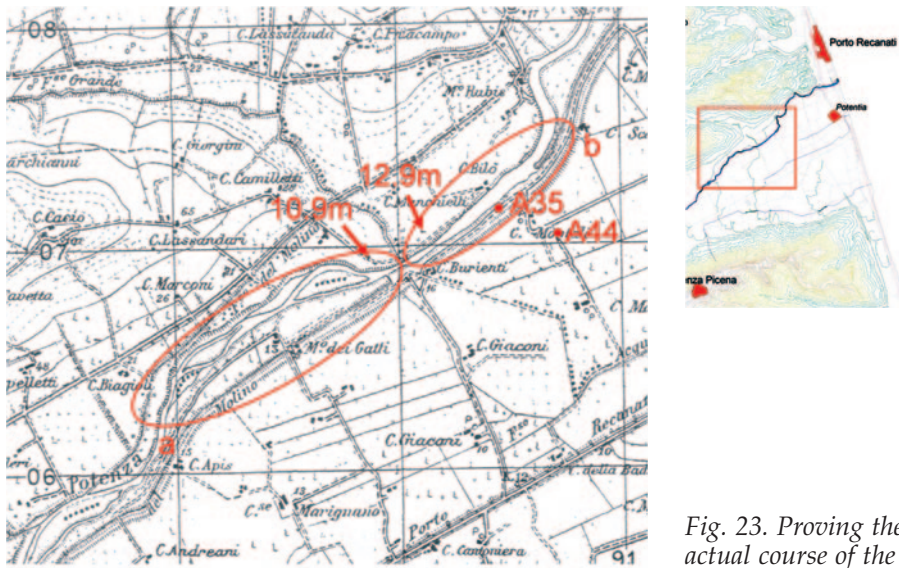


Fig. 23. Proving the human interference in the actual course of the Potenza river.

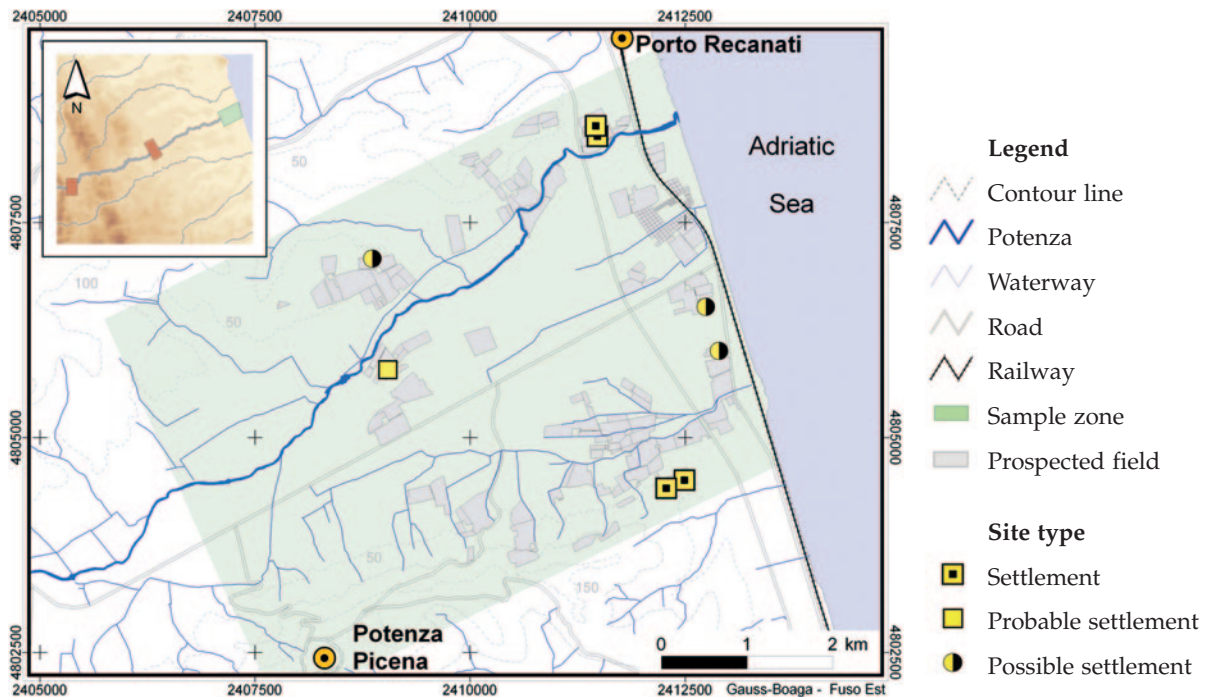


Fig. 24. Protohistoric sites in the lower Potenza valley.

which is situated 600 m ENE from the transition point and about 300 m south of the actual Potenza. Unfortunately, datable material was lacking, so it cannot be ascertained without further investigations whether it is the Roman course of the Potenza that flowed here, or the post-medieval one, or both. However, this cancels any existing doubts about the transition point being a point of tapping, as one might call it. The last kilometres

of the present day Potenza channel are therefore certainly dug by human hands, as is suggested by all available historic information.⁷¹ A ¹⁴C-sample taken from the flood sediments (fig. 23-A35), between the embankments of this channel, should provide a *terminus ante quem* date for the establishment of the current route of the Potenza.

To conclude, we see that everything fits well into the picture. The Roman situation of a Potenza

flowing 700 m south of the town site of *Potentia*, debouching about 200 m inland of the present coastline, lasts until the 14th century. At that time a post-medieval course develops through avulsion, now visible on aerial photographs as a white trace south of the Roman course. At a certain time, to be determined by radiocarbon dating, man decided to reroute the Potenza to its present course, probably to cultivate the newly available land. Only the protohistoric part of the research hypothesis, mentioned before, was refuted: the Potenza can not have flowed at the foot of the Montarice hill, as this course is plainly unnatural.

The protohistoric occupation

Our 2003 survey activities in the lower valley test area did not procure many new data on the Bronze and Iron Age occupation of the coastal area. In the valley floor itself no major sites older than the Roman period were found, although a few very small concentrations occur. It is possible that protohistoric sites are now buried too deep to be found by superficial prospection. The only groupings of protohistoric pottery found here, are located on the ancient beach ridges on which also many Roman coastal sites have been detected.⁷² The high density of the Roman sherds here disturb, however, the accessibility to the protohistoric pattern, a recurring problem in survey archaeology.⁷³ Although this and also more general visibility problems hinder a sheer quantitative interpretation of the survey record,⁷⁴ in accordance with Barker's comparable work in Molise, we can distinguish a few probable sites (with more than 20 sherds), possible sites (between 5 and 20 sherds) and sporadic findspots (less than 5 sherds) in this area.⁷⁵ In addition we feel that we can label sites with more than 50 protohistoric sherds as settlements as such (fig. 24).

Except for some smaller, and still difficult to date protohistoric sites located on the hillsides north and south of the plain,⁷⁶ most of our data for this period come from the intensive intra-site survey of Montarice, executed in 2002.⁷⁷ This site, located on a promontory immediately north of present day Potenza, near its mouth (fig. 24), must certainly be considered as a place for some sort of centralized settlement, probably with an important elite component. The site is situated on a nearly flat surface of about 4.2 hectares large, covered with a thick fluvial or marine gravel stratum upon a substrate of marine sandstones and clays, and with steep slopes bordering the entire plateau except on the NE- and SW-sides (fig. 25). The steep



Fig. 25. The Montarice site.

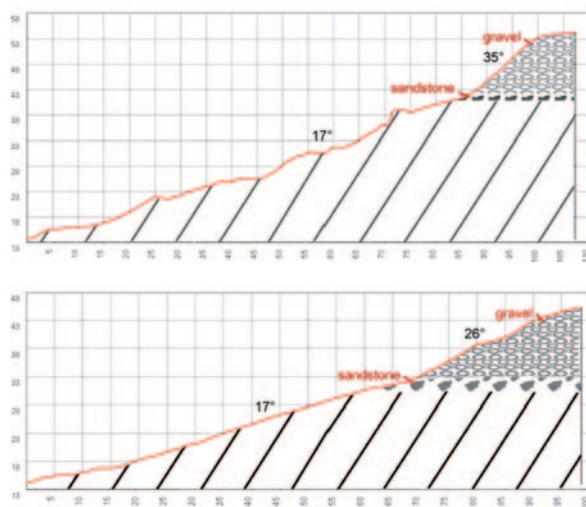


Fig. 26 and 27. Sections of the southern slopes of Montarice.



Fig. 28. Oblique view of the protohistoric hill site of Montarice near the mouth of the Potenza. This photograph, taken in April 2003, shows clear crop marks of a circuit wall around the plateau and of different phases of houses, pits and other settlement traces.

slope at the SW-side is probably partly due to the recent construction of the motorway Bologna-Pescara, but the others seem predominantly natural (*fig. 26 and 27*). The site enjoys ample view on the coastal plain of the Potenza. Already in 2002 our fieldwalking and aerial photography surveys revealed the existence of an important Bronze and Iron Age centre here. Crop marks photographed in the spring of 2003 indicate a huge number of settlement structures, especially the traces of different phases of enclosure walls and ditches, accentuating the natural defence of the site. These crop marks (*fig. 28*) suggest even an almost organised aspect of this imposing site, showing clearly several lined and/or grouped rectangular houses and other structures like pits and possible cisterns. While the mapping and interpretation of the many settlement structures, with the use of oblique digital photographs, is still unfinished, we can present here some data about the processing of the surface material.

The site yielded a great amount of Bronze and Iron Age material, as well as some finds of the

Roman period. Due to the huge number of artefacts (more than 10.000) collected on a surface of 4.2 ha in a restricted period of time (one field day), the approach of processing the pottery was adjusted. Per surveyed square the pottery was sorted in protohistoric finds and non-protohistoric finds. Both classes were then subdivided in the bulk of wall sherds and the diagnostic sherds (rims, bases, handles and wall sherds with identifiable or datable decoration). The share of chronologically significant sherds in such a group of 'diagnostic' sherds might be very limited. In that case only fabric study can eventually procure a date, which however often remains uncertain.⁷⁸

Of all the artefacts picked up on Montarice some 9.500 are ceramics, of which a little more than 2.000 pieces can be called diagnostic. Table 1 shows that of these diagnostic ceramics 79% is protohistoric, 2% concerns imported Greek wares, another 17% is certainly not protohistoric and 2% remains undefinable.⁷⁹ In the protohistoric class we could define about eighty certain Bronze Age sherds and some 200 Iron Age ones, while for the

remaining (more than) 1.300 pieces, up to now, no more detailed classification is achieved. Finally the Iron Age material has been catalogued on the principle of typology and analogy, in an Early (9th-8th centuries BC), Middle (7th-6th centuries BC) and Late period (5th-3rd centuries BC). Similar information is available for each single surveyed square, which eventually can lead to the identification of shifts in time and/or function of the settlement on the Montarice plateau.

However, it is extremely important to stress that these preliminary results are still greatly dependent on the nature and the state of research related to this type of ceramics. For the difficulties in identifying survey material are well known. Responsible are the lack of context and the mostly fragmentary and eroded state of the pottery. A current lack of familiarity with the pottery of some periods forms an obvious barrier to identification.⁸⁰ The help of (regional) experts⁸¹ or comparison within a well-defined survey context can give a clue to some of the most problematic materials. Last but not least, pottery analysis of survey material needs to be based on datable pottery sequences. Well-dated regional reference sites are thus crucial for the identification, typology and chronology of the survey material. Within Italy the Marche region is slightly understudied, especially when compared to the Tyrrhenian regions of the peninsula. Yet, important Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements in the Marche region are amongst others Moscosi di Cingoli (Macerata), S. Paolina di Filottrano (Ancona) and Colle dei Cappuccini in the city of Ancona. There is, however, a severe problem concerning useful reference material for Iron Age superficial settlement debris. Most Mediterranean prehistoric ceramic typologies are mainly based on diagnostic features that are seldom found on the surface. For protohistoric periods in particular, metalwork is often used as the chronological indicators but they are quasi absent in survey records. This resulted in a huge split between the chronologies of (cemetery) excavation and (settlement) survey.⁸² Elsewhere⁸³ we argued that most of the knowledge about the Iron Age Piceni-culture indeed derives from cemeteries, as the scarce epigraphic documentation is of a funeral nature and only few settlements have been discovered and studied till now. The most important settlement research in this context is the one conducted in the 1980's by G. Baldelli⁸⁴ at Montedoro di Scapezzano near Senigallia. His excavations yielded important topographic information so that we now start to understand the overall organisation of a major Piceni-settlement.

Montarice diagnostic			
not protohistoric	17 %	Iron Age	12 %
protohistoric	63 %	Greek	2 %
Bronze Age	4 %	Undefined	2 %

Table 1. Diagnostic sherds from Montarice.

02-K151 diagnostic			
not protohistoric	25 %	Iron Age	33 %
protohistoric	33 %	Greek	3 %
Bronze Age	1 %		

Table 2. Diagnostic sherds found on the southern flank of Montarice.

02-K151 Iron Age			
Iron Age	28	9 th -8 th centuries	0
7 th -6 th centuries	7	5 th -3 rd centuries	33

Table 3. Iron Age pottery found on the southern flank of Montarice.



Fig. 29. Soilmarks of settlement occupation on Montarice.

However, the knowledge concerning the Piceni settlement 'impasto' ceramics remains problematic, since publication of the excavated material from this site is still awaited. Also the material of the Piceni-settlement of Cartofaro, although partially presented,⁸⁵ needs elaborate study. A useful reference collection concerning Piceni-settlement ceramics is not yet available.

In an earlier report⁸⁶ we mentioned the existence of a rich pottery concentration of about 40x15 m on the southern slope of Montarice (fig. 29), which could be interpreted as a normal outflow of soil material from the plateau in a gully colluvium or as an isolated unit located on a former terrace. Since the study of the material in 2003 has shown that most of the pottery found in this zone is of



Fig. 30. Middle Bronze Age sherd from the southern flank of Montarice.



Fig. 31. Alto-Adriatic sherds from the southern flank of Montarice.



Fig. 32. Alto-Adriatic sherd from the southern flank of Montarice.

an obvious younger date (*table 2*) than the majority of the finds on the top of the plateau (*table 1*), we tend to consider the second interpretation as the most valuable one. In this concentration zone on Montarice's southern flank only two sherds can be assigned to the Bronze Age (*fig. 30*). The first results of the study of this more homogenous group of Iron Age pottery suggest a preponderance of the latest phases of this era (*table 3*). A distinctive group within the later Iron Age sherds are Alto-Adriatic ceramics. The presence of this type of pottery on Montarice does not surprise as such vases were also found in the protohistoric, later Piceni settlements of Pesaro, Montagnolo di Ancona and Numana. The latter lies only 15 km north of our site.⁸⁷ Figure 31 shows that not only the drip or clock-like decoration, but also the bluff clay and black-brown gloss correspond very well with some Alto Adriatic *oinochoai* found at Issa, a Syracusan colony on the island of Vis in Dalmatia. Here they are dated to the late 4th-first half of 3rd centuries BC, in analogy with an example from *Spina*.⁸⁸ Finally also the striped motif on figure 32 is recognized on some 3rd century BC Alto Adriatic lids from the Ca' Cima necropolis at *Adria*.⁸⁹

Although the Montarice material is still under study, we can already state that the high density of the pottery finds and a first evaluation of the chronology supports the idea of a long and almost continued occupation of the hill from the Middle Bronze Age into the Late Iron Age and even the Early Roman period. The good quality of the wares, especially of the Greek (black glazed and black-and red-figured pottery) and Adriatic imports, points no doubt to the presence of *Piceni* elites, probably controlling maritime transports and contacts with Numana and other commercial centres along the coast. The 'pre-urban' hill site certainly also had a role to play in the control over the entrance to the river corridor and over the flow of goods to inland sites and ultimately to the Tyrrhenian area. There are however no clear indications yet that the relatively small site was eventually turned into a centre with real urban allure, as should be deduced from the presence of indicators such as a central square or important public building infrastructure.

The Roman and late antique periods

Investigations during the 2003 campaigns in the lower valley were foremost relevant for the period between circa the 3rd c. BC and the 6th c. AD. Further intensification of remote sensing operations, continuation of systematic line-walking in

the 25 km² wide test area, study of the survey finds and integrated geomorphological fieldwork all contributed to a further deepening of our knowledge concerning evolutions of the humanized landscape under Roman, Ostrogoth and Byzantine dominance. Later developments, with the advent of the Lombards in the region, are however still archaeologically difficult to trace.

In this lower Potenza valley the Roman impact on the landscape became visible from 184 BC onwards. With the foundation of the colony for Roman citizens *Potentia* a whole series of foundations of maritime colonies on the Adriatic coast, which started shortly after the battle of *Sentinum*, was finalised. In last years' account of our 2002 survey operations we already focussed on the many new data gathered on and around the city site of *Potentia*, now lying almost completely under agricultural land on a former beach ridge at some 300 m from the present day coastline.⁹⁰

Many good crop marks observed in the grain fields during several spring flights of 2003 help to reconstruct with more detail the layout of *Potentia*'s street network and town walls, and procure also

the first traces of city buildings. Although the available vertical photographs already revealed much of this regular city plan,⁹¹ and our earlier work could add much to this, many new elements can now be introduced and older ones corrected or interpreted with more detail. Thanks to the computer rectification of these obliquely photographed traces and with the help of 'Airphoto' software and GIS analysis incorporating vertical images and existing map information, we can now produce a fairly consistent map of the city grid (fig. 33 and 34).⁹²

Systematic field survey of the hinterland of this town continued in 2003 and although a total of only 3.88 km² is now fully covered by this line-walking, we can state that all landscape types are now visited on a representative scale in this coastal area. For the period concerned here this produced a total of some 31 settlement sites (fig. 35), almost all of which were inhabited during early Imperial times. Of these, only a few contain also late Republican finds, while eight sites showed evidence of late Roman occupation. While further processing of these sites and a revisit of some of them remains

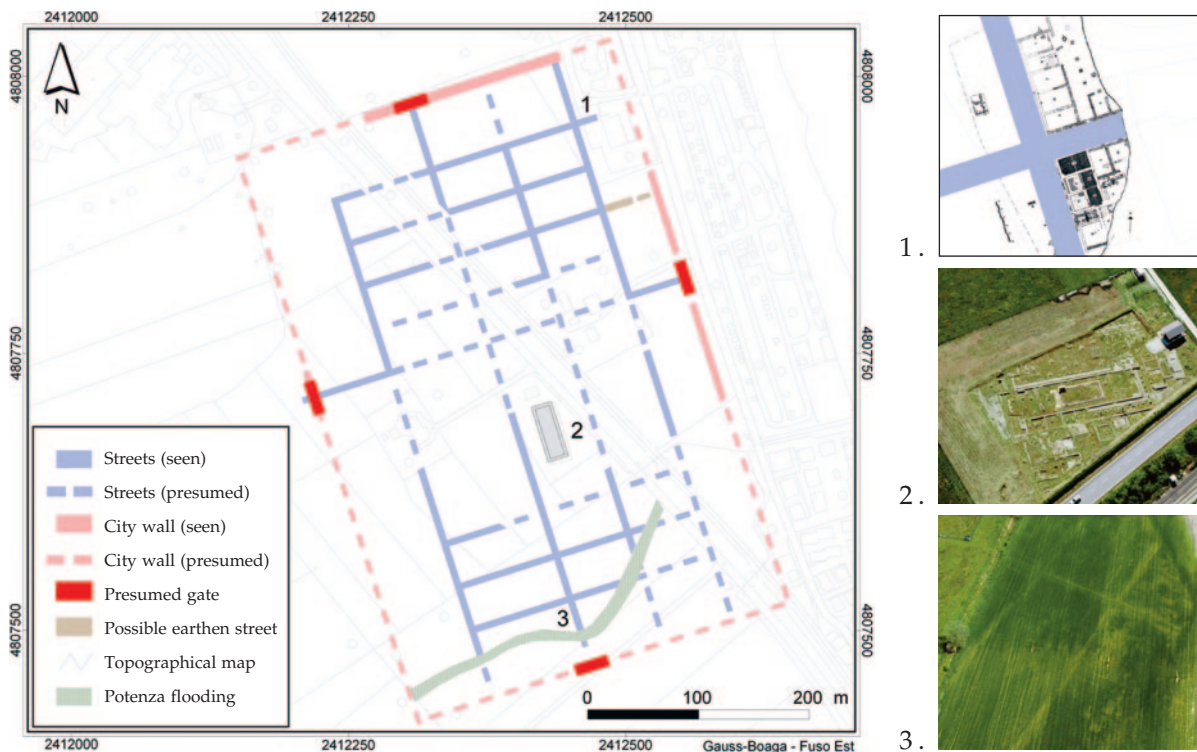


Fig. 33. The new plan of *Potentia* with indication of the best-known building sectors: 1. parts of two insulae excavated in the 1970's, 2. central temple sector currently under excavation, 3. buildings seen in crop marks during our aerial reconnaissance in 2003.

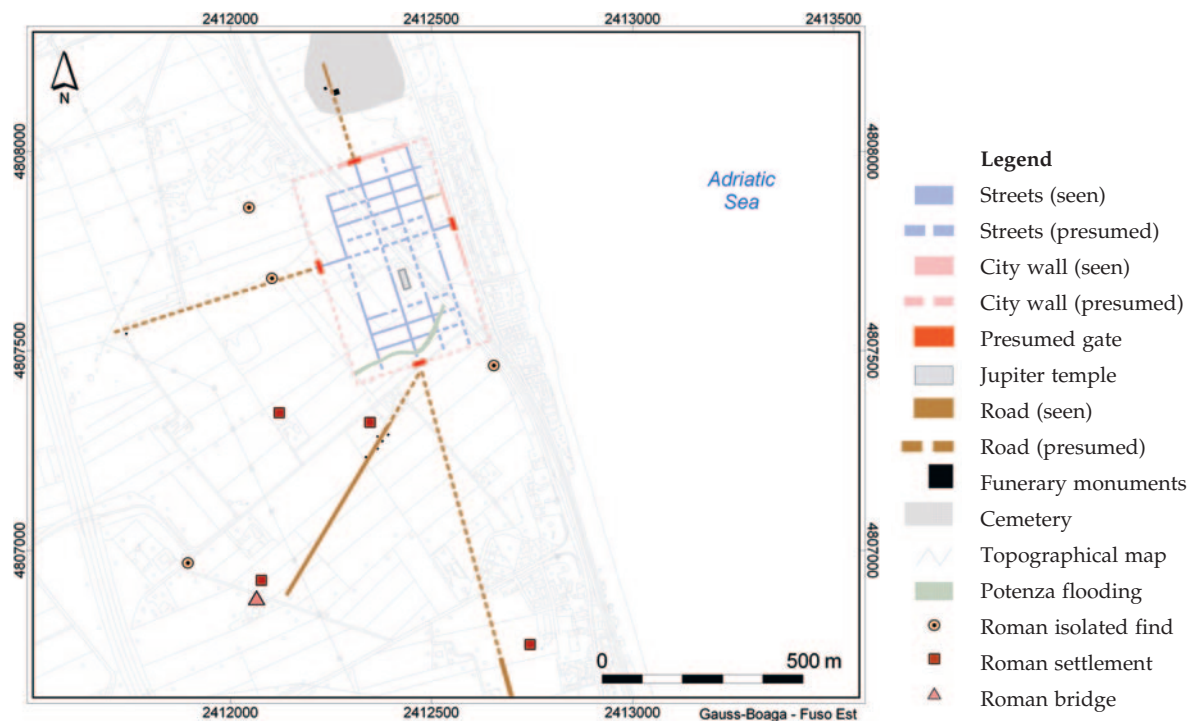


Fig. 34. New plan of Roman Potentia and its immediate surroundings, based on aerial photography, systematic survey and earlier excavations.

necessary, we can generally confirm our general observations about site distribution made last year.⁹³ As the study of part of the pottery found on these sites has progressed, we can at present, also add some significant chronological data.

Although we can observe a very intense use of the coastal area for habitation under Roman dominance, the distribution of settlements (and some probable/possible settlements) is not even. At least five main types of site locations can now be distinguished: suburban, on the beach ridge, in the valley floor, on the lower hillslopes and on the hillcrests.

The suburban zones

Systematic grid-surveys on and around the walled town-site of *Potentia* have demonstrated that some surface concentrations of settlement finds are to be interpreted as indications for suburban habitation activity. This was in particular noted along and near some of the roads leading out of town in a southern and southwestern direction, but also along the coastal road to the north.⁹⁴ The identification by aerial photography and recent excavations of several cemetery zones near these roads,⁹⁵ makes it still difficult to delineate and

characterize some of these sites. We hope to elucidate this in the near future by further grid-walking and geophysical prospections.

The beach ridges

A clearer pattern is that of a series of sites lined along the Roman coastal road from *Potentia* to the south and all situated on top of ancient beach ridges, now lying some 300 m inland. It is clear that at least some of these settlements are partly linked to early Roman amphora production, as is suggested by dense concentrations of amphora fragments in the surface scatters. But the connection with the profitable coastal environment, the city and the coastal road are no doubt further explanations for their density in the late Republican and early Imperial periods. Most of them, however, seem to be abandoned from mid-Imperial times onwards.

The most spectacular discovery in this area was made in 2002 with the identification of an amphora-kiln site near the coast. Unfortunately a major part of the complex has disappeared during the 1970's when much ground was carried away for the construction of the nearby coastal highway. It seems that the presence of the kiln, at that

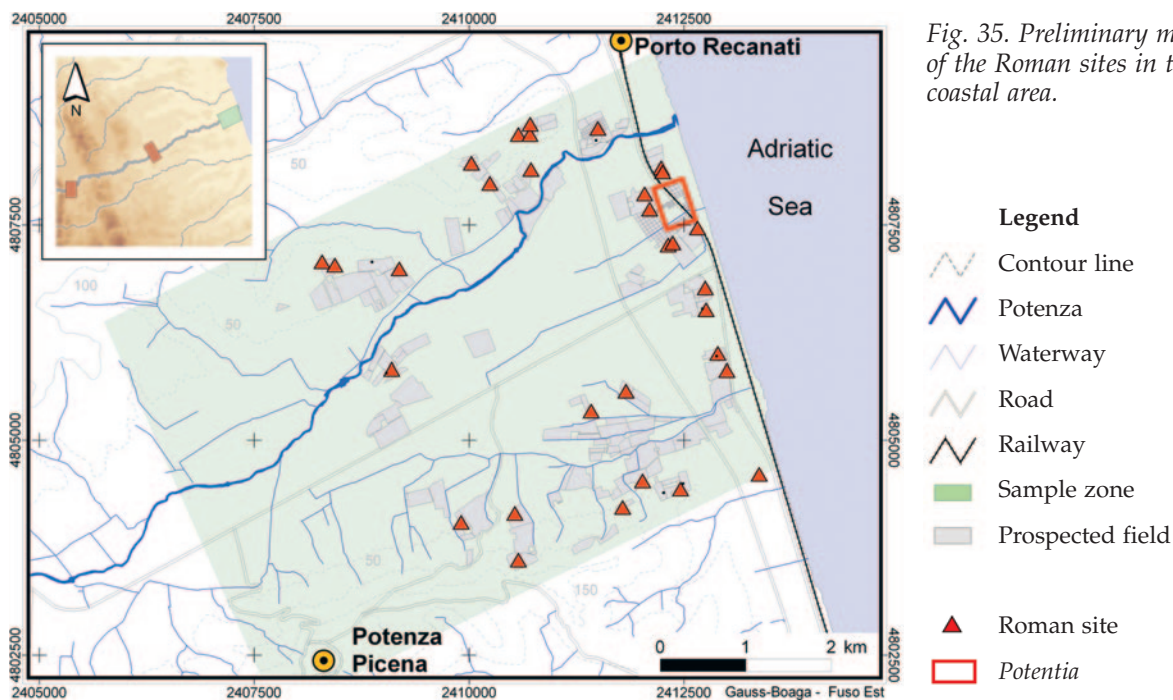


Fig. 35. Preliminary map of the Roman sites in the coastal area.

time not recognized as an amphora production site, was briefly noted during these ground-works, but the site was not investigated further.⁹⁶ A preserved hillock represents an interesting stratigraphy of later sea-flooding, bringing in masses of pebbles and gravel, and several layers of dump material, locally covering fragments of Roman walls preserved *in situ*. The huge numbers of misfires (yellowish and greenish coloured pottery fragments, sometimes distorted and glazed) and of different parts of amphorae scattered around leave no doubt about the precise function of this site. The produced amphora types show imitations of late Graeco-Italic, Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6 models (fig. 36.2-4). We noticed at least two types of amphora-stoppers (fig. 36.1). Some plain ware and a fragment of a thin walled beaker only refer to the occupation of the site, as does the complete profile of a lamp in coarse orange brown fabric, dating to the Augustan or Tiberian period. Considering the amphorae types that were produced here, the lifetime of the kiln-site lies between the (beginning, middle?) 1st century BC and the third quarter of the 1st century AD.⁹⁷ When comparing the amphora fragments found on the site, it is already clear now that a high percentage of the amphora material recovered during our surveys in the whole of the Potenza valley were locally made. And although not recognized on the kiln-site itself, there is a noticeable similarity of the fabric with those of

many Dressel 2-4 types proceeding from the surveys. Therefore, we can accept with reason that also the Dressel 2-4 was imitated, bringing the local amphora production to at least 4 types. Finally, we do not exclude that the production lasted longer than the 1st century AD, as also Forlimpopoli types could have been made locally.

The valley floor

A small number of Roman farm sites were found in the almost flat valley floor of the coastal plain. Although their number was probably restricted, this indicates that the enforced late Republican land division (*centuriatio*) in the plain and accompanying land improvements have made this fertile but easily flooded valley floor widely available for habitation and systematic agricultural exploitation. It remains to be understood what the precise connection was between these few farms and the original Roman land division. As these sites situated on the valley floor are less visible due to later valley flooding and clay deposition, their study poses some problems regarding the date of the earlier phase of occupation. This is the case with one of these sites, situated south of the Potenza river. Some amphorae fragments found here may belong to the early Roman period (1 Imperial Rhodian? Some Dressel 6?), but a twisted handle of a jug can be assigned to different periods.

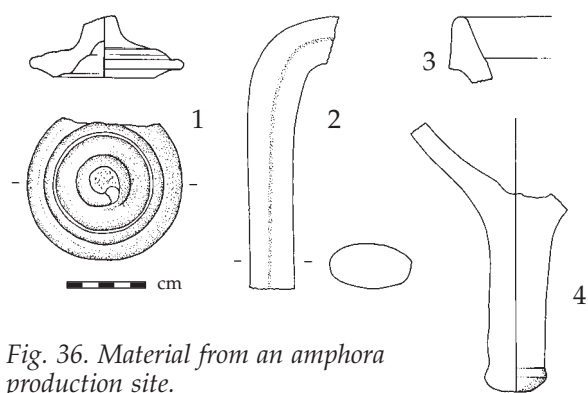


Fig. 36. Material from an amphora production site.

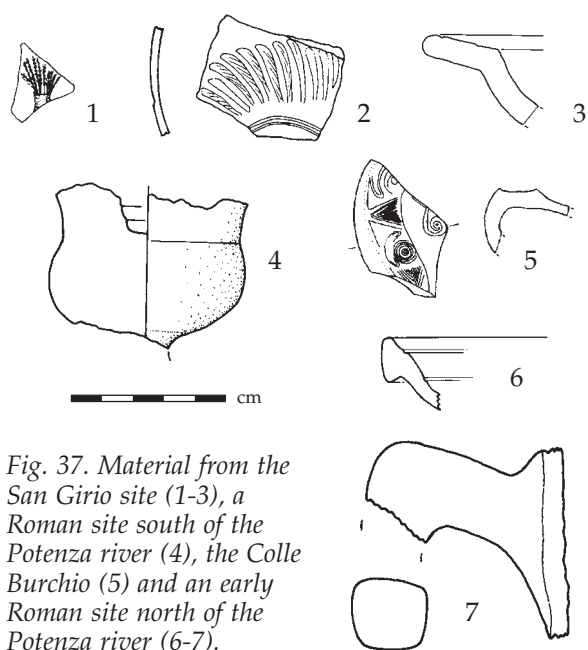


Fig. 37. Material from the San Gيرو site (1-3), a Roman site south of the Potenza river (4), the Colle Burchio (5) and an early Roman site north of the Potenza river (6-7).

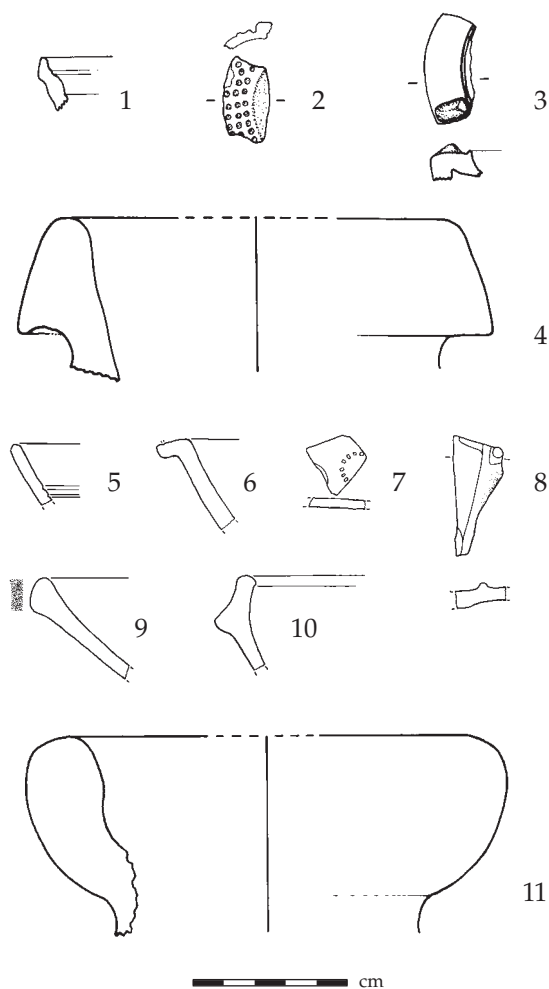


Fig. 38. Material from a Roman site north of the Potenza river.

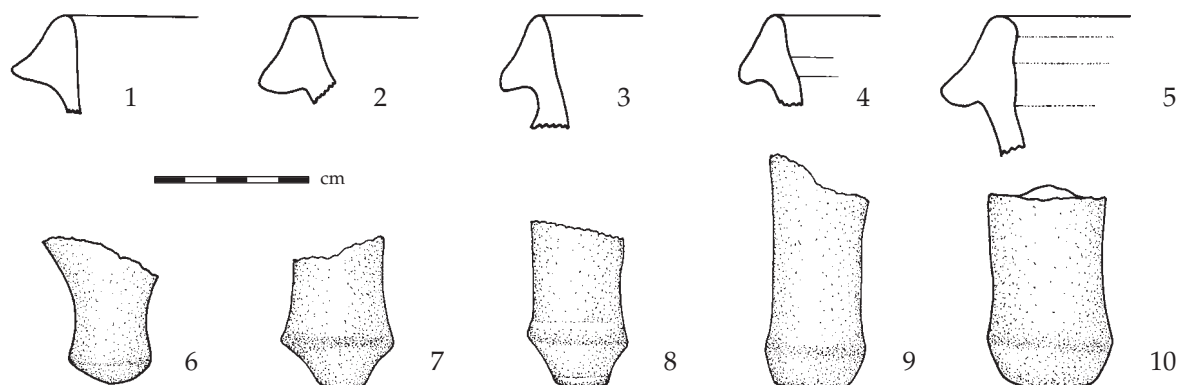


Fig. 39. Material from the Colle Burchio site.

The late Roman period is represented by some African Red Slip types. Type Hayes 50 was well represented, other types like Hayes 58 also occurred. A stamped palm of type Hayes 19, two palm motifs set base to base, date the site into the 5th century AD.⁹⁸ A rim of a *spatheion* or a related cylindrical African amphora was also recovered.⁹⁹ These late finds are important, as they clearly suggest that the valley floor and possibly its system of drainage and land division were not quickly abandoned in Late Antiquity.

The lower hillslopes

An important segment of the settlements, and especially some villas and larger rural settlements are located on the footslopes of the hills, a few meters above and outside the predominantly agricultural plain. At first sight there seems to be no specific preference for the northern or southern valley edges, as both seem densely settled. Some of these sites show intense surface scatters of more than 100 m long and reveal indications for wealth (varied building materials, fine pottery, thermal installations, etc.) and a long occupation history, from late Republican times into the late Roman period. Sometimes a spatial shift can be noted during this long history. Let us shortly review some chronological evidence for these dominant rural sites.

On the San Girio site south of the Potenza, for example, early Roman finds were scattered all over the hillslope, whereas the late Roman sherds were concentrated in a well defined area. Among the early Roman pottery Dressel 6 amphorae and locally made Dressel 2-4 amphorae were present, both dated in the 1st century AD. A terra sigillata wall fragment of a beaker with a relief decoration of a palm-tree could date in the Augustan age (fig. 37.1).¹⁰⁰ Some fragments of Forlimpopoli amphorae, or their imitations, point to an occupation in the Flavian and Antonine eras. More difficult to date are the plain and coarse wares like fragments of jugs, one-handlers, large bowls, flat-knobbed lids, a lid with 'cornice' etc., which are executed in the typical rough fabric of brown-orange colour.¹⁰¹ The late Roman pottery show clean breaks what could indicate that the pottery was just recently brought to surface. Regional productions like terra sigillata medio-adriatica as well as imported wares, such as African Red Slip, surfaced in this area. Different types of African Red Slip, like Hayes 53B and Hayes 59B, were identified (fig. 37.2-3).¹⁰² No pottery was dated later than the first half of the 5th century AD. It is interesting to note that

the local church of San Girio is situated nearby. Although of rather recent date, the present-day Christian sanctuary could have replaced a late antique or early Medieval predecessor.

A large site,¹⁰³ situated west of the Monte dei Priori, south of the Potenza river, also indicates a long occupation history. The plain and coarse wares were abundant. They are of the same types as the material from the San Girio site and are dated in the late 1st and 2nd century AD. The thin walled and grooved bottom of a lamp, most probably of the Loeschke I-IV type, suggests a date between the late Augustan and the Neronian age. A fragment of a small vessel with incised decoration on the shoulder may refer to the 2nd or 3rd century AD. The knob of an African amphora type Keay Vbis brings us between the 3rd and the 5th centuries AD (fig. 37.4). Because of its relationship with the first examples of the Africana II types we prefer the earliest date.¹⁰⁴ The inferior part of a handle belongs most likely to a Late Roman 2 amphora. Some worn fragments of African Red Slip were also present. Two wall sherds with incised wavy lines, belonging to the late Roman or the early Medieval period, are difficult to date more precisely.

During the 2003 campaign a large Roman site was located on a hill north of the Potenza river.¹⁰⁵ This site yielded a variety of building material including a considerable number of mosaic *tesserae*, some of which made of blue glass paste, incised fragments of *tubuli*, a profiled stone and many pieces of painted stucco. Datable ceramics include a terra sigillata rim Goudineau 18/24 (fig. 38.1),¹⁰⁶ some late Lamboglia 2 and/or Dressel 6 amphora rims and spikes (fig. 38.4, 11), a globular lamp of the Dressel 2-3 type (fig. 38.2), fragments of vernice nera ware and several Firmalamps (fig. 38.3). These finds date from the end of the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD, possibly going into the 2nd century AD when we consider the large dating range of Firmalamps. The importance of the site for the early Roman period is also illustrated by some glass finds. Occupation of this site is, as with the San Girio site, still of considerable size in the late Roman period. But otherwise than the San Girio site the material from this site has clearly suffered from still active erosion, which scattered the artefacts over the southern flank of the hill and grouped in in gullies at the hill-foot. The late Roman pottery identified here consists of African Red Slip, African Cooking Ware (fig. 38.9), an African lamp and Late Roman C. The African Red Slip types identified are Hayes 53B, Hayes 58 and a fragment of a base with a stamp of an indented circle of type Atlante n. 4 (fig. 38.5-7).¹⁰⁷ The frag-



Fig. 40. Fragment of a terracotta revetment plate or antefix.

ment of an African lamp consists of parts of the nozzle and disc. These elements point to the type Atlante X/Hayes II (fig. 38.8).¹⁰⁸ The fragments of Late Roman C are of type Hayes 3C (fig. 38.10).¹⁰⁹ The Late Roman amphorae were represented by a *spatheion* or a related cylindrical amphora and by Africana II. These finds date occupation of the site into the 5th century AD.

The hillcrests

Several settlement sites were located on the crests of the hills that border the Potenza plain to the north and the south. Although these settlements had more difficulties for locally obtaining water, they took in a dominant and favourable position on the generally flat crests of the hills in relation with upper slopes which were very suitable for viticulture. This type of economic exploitation was well connected, it seems, with the amphora production along the coast. In particular the finials of the hills, almost bordering the coast, attracted farms interested in this kind of economic exploitation.

On the Colle Burchio, a hillcrest near the coast overlooking the Potenza plain from the north, field survey and aerial photography located a large settlement with two distinct sectors. A habitation area, with clear soil marks revealing ploughed up walls of a building with rectangular and semi-circular rooms, connects on the surface with a scatter of various Roman household pottery. Next to this was found a remarkably large (circa 120 by 60 m) concentration of amphorae fragments, of which 17 rims, 18 spikes, 71 handles and 36 wall sherds were sampled during our fieldwalking. Nearly all amphora sherds refer to a local imitation of a late Greco-Italic type. However, the identification of the site remains unclear. The location on a hill-top and the lack of misfires do not directly point to a production site. Do the amphorae fragments indicate a storehouse of an agricultural exploitation connected with viticulture or are they part of

materials ready to be re-used for construction purposes, a normal activity in this coastal region (fig. 39)? On the same site a late Roman lamp was found. There seems to be a volute curl in relief on the disc and the edge shows a relief decoration with an alternating motif of a triangle and concentric circles combined with a crescent (fig. 37.5).¹¹⁰ As this lamp was the only late Roman find, we can not ascertain that this hillcrest site survived the mid-Roman economic downfall of wine production in Italy.

Interesting for the early Roman occupation of the hillcrests is another site located north of the Potenza river. An *unstamped* handle of a Rhodian amphora was retrieved here (fig. 37.7). The fragment has a high chronological value. The handle belongs to the latest version of the typical Rhodian Hellenistic type, and can be compared with the unstamped examples of the Antikythera wreck which sank in 80-60 BC. The practice of stamping handles, almost without exception on both of them, disappeared in the course of 1st century BC, probably as a consequence of the political and economic destabilization during the Mithridatic wars, and if not, then almost certainly after the destruction of Rhodes in 43 BC by Cassius. Shortly after this event, or in the beginning of the Augustan age, a new type of Rhodian amphora with pointed handles was created. Considering these arguments a date range of 75-25 BC for our find seems reasonable.¹¹¹ Several fragments of vernice nera and an Augustan terra sigillata Dragendorff 16 (fig. 37.6) were also found here.

Finally, also worth mentioning is a terracotta revetment plate or antefix decorated with a palm (fig. 40) possibly of Augustan age. On the same site a rim of a locally made amphora of the Greco-Italic type was found which suggests that the site was occupied from the 1st century BC onwards.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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In addition to the signatories of this article, the PVS-team of 2003 included: Joris Angenon, Sophie Dralans, Maarten Weyler, Lieven Verdonck, Nele Eggermont, An De Waele, Julie Luyts, Tine Simoens, Elise Martens and Lies Verstraete. We wish to thank all participating members of the team and expli-

citly all voluntary archaeologists and students of archaeology and geography for their enthusiasm and active participation in the fieldwork.

NOTES

- ¹ This multidisciplinary project of Ghent University, directed by the first author, was initiated in 2000 and is financed with grants from the Fund of Scientific Research - Flanders, from Ghent University (BOF-funds) and from the Belgian federal government (IAP V/09: project 'Urban and rural transformation in the western and eastern Roman Empire. Interdisciplinary archaeology of late antique and early medieval times').
- ² Vermeulen/Boullart 2001; Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Vermeulen *et al.* 2003.
- ³ The September 2003 field campaign was presumably the last to be of such large scale. The coming years will be devoted to the preparation of the final report on all work by the Ghent team in the Potenza valley, as well as on detailed studies of specific topics. Some of the latter, such as 'early urbanisation in the valley' and 'Roman villas in Marche' have recently been published (see: Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004; Vermeulen/Verdonck 2004).
- ⁴ Aerial photography by F. Vermeulen, assisted for processing and cartography by G. Verhoeven and for digital photography by R. Goossens.
- ⁵ Fieldwork directed by M. De Dapper, with the help of B.-M. De Vliegheer, T. Goethals and L. Verstraete.
- ⁶ Surveys coordinated by F. Vermeulen and G. Verhoeven, involving the collaboration of J. Angenon, S. Dralans, M. Weyler, L. Verdonck, C. Boullart, H. Verreyke, N. Eggermont, A. De Waele, J. Luyts, E. Martens and T. Simoens.
- ⁷ All artefact processing and analysis was directed by P. Monsieur, assisted by C. Boullart (protohistory) and H. Verreyke (Late Antiquity), with much help from J. Angenon, S. Dralans, M. Weyler, L. Verdonck, N. Eggermont, A. De Waele, J. Luyts, E. Martens and T. Simoens.
- ⁸ Vermeulen/Boullart 2001; Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Vermeulen *et al.* 2003; Vermeulen/Verhoeven/Semey forthcoming.
- ⁹ The following section is a synthesis and further elaboration of the data presented in Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004.
- ¹⁰ Most recent summary: Marengo 2000. See also Bejor 1977; Moscatelli 1988; Fabrini 1990, 111-119.
- ¹¹ Percossi Serenelli 2000.
- ¹² Moscatelli 1985 and 1988. This topographic work was also partly based on observations and on earlier hypotheses of Benigni and Bejor.
- ¹³ Fabrini 1990. The excavations gave evidence that a Roman temple base was reused for the construction of the church tower, while several sanctuary rooms with the same orientation as the later monastery buildings contain mosaic floors as well as a system of aqueducts leading to a series of basins and cisterns. Important Egyptian statuary found in this area refers to the cult of Isis and Serapis (Capriotti Vittozi 1999).
- ¹⁴ Paci 1999.
- ¹⁵ Dates proposed for the wall construction vary between the first half (Moscatelli 1985) and the second half (Percossi Serenelli 2000, 75) of the 1st century BC.
- ¹⁶ Moscatelli 1985.
- ¹⁷ Marengo 2000; Percossi Serenelli 2000, 74-105.
- ¹⁸ Marengo 2000.
- ¹⁹ Fabrini 1990.
- ²⁰ As such, we could complement the excellent surveys executed by Moscatelli in the western part of the territory, published in the *Forma Italiae* series (Moscatelli 1988).
- ²¹ This new proposition, which needs further field evidence and more conclusive remote sensing images, leaves us with a much smaller city than proposed by earlier researchers such as Bejor and Moscatelli (see Moscatelli 1988).
- ²² We deduce this from our recent discovery of an important roadside settlement at Villa Potenza (Vermeulen/Verdonck 2004).
- ²³ More than 300 m above sea level.
- ²⁴ Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 198.
- ²⁵ The presence of readily available fresh water could be a good argument for the location of the first settlement.
- ²⁶ Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 198.
- ²⁷ Oswald/Price 1920, 65-66, Pl. II, 3-4; Ettlinger 1990, 165-169, 176-177 (types R1, R2, R7).
- ²⁸ Pucci 1985, 394, Pl. 129, 4-5, 395, Pl. 130, 1.
- ²⁹ Hayes 1972, 33-35, fig. 4; *Atlante* 1981, 26-27, tav. XIV, 4-5.
- ³⁰ A few linear traces seen by Moscatelli in the southern part of the city, in line with the present day church, agree well with our new information (Moscatelli 1988).
- ³¹ See Fabrini 1990. The insertion of the orientation of this convent and church in the ancient street pattern is at least remarkable.
- ³² The pale crop marks suggest some sort of pavement. During field checks many grey and white tesserae were noticed here, some still joined together.
- ³³ For *Trea* there is epigraphic evidence of the cults of Minerva, Victoria, Domina, Serapis, Isis and the Emperor (Marengo 2000). The Imperial cult is a likely candidate for this dominant forum temple.
- ³⁴ Hayes 67: Hayes 1972, 112-116, fig. 19; *Atlante* 1981, 88-89, tav. XXXVII, 9-11; tav. XXXVIII, 5.
- ³⁵ Stamp Hayes 1: Hayes 1972, 229, fig. 38; *Atlante* 1981, 127 n. 8, tav. LVII, 47-49; CXXXV, 1; CXXXVII, 1. Stamp Hayes 26: Hayes 1972, 235, fig. 39-40; *Atlante* 1981, 125 n. 10, tav. LVI, 13-17.
- ³⁶ See e.g. the mid-1st century AD forum in Brescia.
- ³⁷ Mercado 1974b, 207-209, Fig. 84-85b: tomba 27A; 276-277, Fig. 174: tomba 109, with a coin of Domitianus giving a *terminus post quem*; 307, Fig. 221: tomba 140.
- ³⁸ For the most recent summaries of archaeological finds in *Ricina* see: Capodaglio/Cipolletta 1996 and Percossi Serenelli 1989.
- ³⁹ There is written evidence that this was certainly the case in late medieval times (Alfieri 1937; Cecchi 1968, 177).
- ⁴⁰ Percossi Serenelli 1989, 65; Moscatelli 1985, 85.
- ⁴¹ Mercado 1971b.
- ⁴² Mercado/Bachielli/Paci 1984; Percossi Serenelli 1989, 85-86; Capodaglio/Cipolletta 1996, 26-32. This cemetery was used at least until the 3rd century of our era.
- ⁴³ Cecchi 1968, 178.
- ⁴⁴ Excavations in the 1970's and 1980's by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche established the chronology and plan of this building (Percossi Serenelli 1989).
- ⁴⁵ Capodaglio/Cipolletta 1996, 9.
- ⁴⁶ Mercado 1977-1980.
- ⁴⁷ Mercado 1971a; 1971b; 1977-1980; Percossi Serenelli 1989.
- ⁴⁸ Capodaglio/Cipolletta 1996, 11.
- ⁴⁹ Alfieri 1937.
- ⁵⁰ Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004; Vermeulen/Verhoeven/

- Semey forthcoming.
- 51 Crop marks of this disappeared meandering brook are well visible on the aerial photographs. A field campaign of systematic coring to reconstruct the ancient landscape around *Ricina* is planned for the September 2004 field campaign.
 - 52 Moscatelli already observed that the Roman town could have been partly eroded by the river, whose Roman course could, according to him, have been situated more to the south than the present-day Potenza channel (Moscatelli 1985, 90).
 - 53 Mercando 1971b.
 - 54 Cecchi 1968, 150.
 - 55 This was already suggested by Moscatelli (1985, 90).
 - 56 This position of main temple (*capitolium*?) and theatre dominating the forum is certainly not exceptional and in Marche the situation in the *municipium* of *Suasa* is very similar (Dall'Aglio *et al.* 1991).
 - 57 Cecchi 1968.
 - 58 Oxé/Comfort/Kenrick 2000, 490-491, no. 2449, 2; ca. 15 BC. Erratum: in our previous report (Monsieur/Verreyke/Boullart 2003, p. 88) we erroneously attributed the stamp of Lucius Tettius Samia to Faenza; the provenance should be Arezzo.
 - 59 Hayes 61B: Hayes 1972, 100-107, fig. 16-17; *Atlante* 1981, 83-84, tav. XXXIV, 8.
 - 60 In 1963 a series of Roman structures were excavated when the AGIP service station was being constructed (see Mercando 1970b).
 - 61 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 197.
 - 62 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 202.
 - 63 Giuliodoro 2001, 98 n. 146, tav. XVII, 146; Ennabli 1976.
 - 64 Moscatelli already supposed the existence of such a gate in this sector, based on toponymic evidence (Moscatelli 1980).
 - 65 Percossi Serenelli 1989, 85-86. During our recent fieldwork we could locate the base of a hitherto unknown funerary monument, hidden in the bank of the modern Septempedana road.
 - 66 Vermeulen *et al.* 2003.
 - 67 For comments on the methodology see: Vermeulen/Boullart 2001; Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Vermeulen *et al.* 2003.
 - 68 Goethals/De Dapper/De Vlieghe in: Vermeulen *et al.*, 2003, 76-79.
 - 69 The most recent study of this bridge is: Lilli 1999.
 - 70 Dating by M. Van Strydonck (IRPA/KIK Brussels).
 - 71 Alfieri/Ortolani 1947. See also: Goethals/De Dapper/De Vlieghe in Vermeulen *et al.* 2003, 78-79.
 - 72 Vermeulen/Boullart 2003. Only one concentration of about 23 rough 'protohistoric' sherds has been found in the lowest parts of the valley, somewhat inland and close to the river. It is however also possible that part of these sherds are coarse wares belonging to the Roman site that has been found next to it. A closer look at the ceramic's fabric during the next study campaign should solve this problem.
 - 73 Bintliff 1998, 4.
 - 74 Bintliff 2000.
 - 75 Barker 1995, 160.
 - 76 Vermeulen/Boullart 2003.
 - 77 Vermeulen/Boullart 2003.
 - 78 Malone/Stoddart 2000, 96.
 - 79 This category is 'diagnostic' because they are rims, bases, handles,... There is however no possibility to propose a date.
 - 80 MacDonald 1995.
 - 81 Our particular thanks for the help with the identification of protohistoric pottery goes to Dr. F. di Gennaro and Dr. G. Baldelli.
 - 82 Malone/Stoddart 2000, 95.
 - 83 Boullart 2003.
 - 84 Baldelli 1991a; 1991b; 2001.
 - 85 Silvestrini Lavagnoli/Cazzella 1981, 151-162.
 - 86 Vermeulen/Boullart 2003.
 - 87 Landolfi 1997, 28.
 - 88 Kirigin 2000, 135.
 - 89 Bonomi/Camerin/Tapassia 2000, tavola I and II.
 - 90 Vermeulen *et al.* 2003. For a first account of the Roman landscape situation around this site, see also Goethals/De Dapper/Vermeulen, forthcoming.
 - 91 Moscatelli 1987; see also Percossi Serenelli 2001.
 - 92 An article describing all possible rectification/restitution procedures applicable on oblique images is in preparation (G. Verhoeven). The map of *Potentia* presented here is adapted to the most recent available data and differs slightly from an earlier version presented in Vermeulen *et al.* 2003. For a detailed description of the city plan we refer to Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004.
 - 93 Vermeulen *et al.* 2003, 84.
 - 94 See especially the distribution map in Vermeulen *et al.* 2003, fig. 10.
 - 95 An archaeological dig in the beginning of 2004 by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche has confirmed the existence, demonstrated by our 2003 aerial photographs, of a series of early Imperial funerary monuments lined along the coastal road immediately to the north of *Potentia* (information Dr. E. Percossi)
 - 96 As revealed by some notes found in the archives of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche at Ancona.
 - 97 We prefer not to discuss here the chronological problems concerning the disappearance of Greco-Italic, Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6 types. In the near future, when a thorough study of the amphorae found in the Potenza valley can start, we will refine the chronology and the relationship with other amphora finds in the Adriatic.
 - 98 Hayes 50: Hayes 1972, 69-73, fig. 12; *Atlante* 1981, 65-66, tav. XXVIII, 9-14; 86-87, tav. XXXVII, 1-2. Stamp Hayes 19: Hayes 1972, 233, fig. 38; *Atlante* 1981, 128, tav. LVIII, 7.
 - 99 For the discussion and bibliography on *spatheia* and related cylindrical amphorae, see Monsieur/Verreyke/Boullart 2003.
 - 100 Possibly belonging to the groups of Sarius- and Aco-beakers? No parallel was found actually.
 - 101 For the discussion and the bibliography on plain and coarse wares, and amphorae, see the preceding preliminary reports: Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Monsieur/Verreyke/Boullart 2003.
 - 102 Hayes 53B: Hayes 1972, 78-82, fig. 13; *Atlante* 1981, 67, tav. XXIX, 5-6; CXXXIV, 3. Hayes 59B: Hayes 1972, 96-100, fig. 15; *Atlante* 1981, 82-83, tav. XXXII, 13; XXXIII, 1, 3-4, 6; CXXXV, 1.
 - 103 02-WF69.
 - 104 Keay 1984; Panella 1973, *passim*.
 - 105 03-WF135, 03-F68, 03-F74.
 - 106 Mazzeo Saracino 1985, 196.
 - 107 Hayes 58: Hayes 1972, 93-96, fig. 14; *Atlante* 1981, 81-82, tav. XXXII, 2-5. Stamp *Atlante* n. 4: *Atlante* 1981, 125, tav. LIV, 4; Hayes 1972, pl. XVb.
 - 108 *Atlante* 1981, 200-203, tav. XCIX, 6-8; C, 1-6.

- ¹⁰⁹ Hayes 1972, 329-338, fig. 67-69; *Atlante* 1981, 231-232, tav. CXII, 2-4.
- ¹¹⁰ No exact parallel was found as yet.
- ¹¹¹ Grace 1965, 6-9, 14-15 and figs. 1-3: of the 5 Rhodian amphorae recovered from the Antikythera wreck, two of them were unstamped; Finkielsztejn 2000, 407, 413-414. It is interesting to note that the Antikythera ship carried also Adriatic amphorae of the Lamboglia 2 type. The new Rhodian type with pointed handles and slender body were rarely stamped; Monsieur 2001, 74 and fig. 11.

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Samnite Sanctuaries Surveyed: Preliminary Report of the Sacred Landscape Project 2004

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with a contribution by M. Roccia

Abstract

In March 2004, an intensive, small-scale, problem-oriented survey was conducted in the area surrounding two Samnite sanctuaries in the Alta Valle del Tappino (CB), which lies in the modern region of Molise in central-southern Italy. The sanctuary at S. Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato, and the sanctuary at Gildone, località Cupa, were of equally modest dimensions and were frequented during the Hellenistic and the Roman periods. In this short preliminary report, the objectives of the survey will be discussed in the context of the theoretical framework of the project. The first provisional results will also be presented.

Sanctuaries and other sacred places constitute an invaluable source of information on Italic communities. At least as important as the sacred places themselves, however, is their relationship to other elements in the cultural landscape, such as settlements, necropoleis and roads. This 'landscape of the sacred' is essential for our understanding of the changing functions and cultural meanings of sanctuaries.

A major problem affecting the study of the sanctuaries of southern and central Italy is the frequent absence of information about their spatial context. It is this lacuna in the archaeological record that the 'Sacred Landscape Project' aims to reduce and various intensive field surveys around selected Italic sanctuaries are now scheduled.¹ In March 2004 the first survey was conducted around two sanctuaries in the modern region of Molise: the sanctuaries of Gildone (località Cupa) and the sanctuary of S. Giovanni in Galdo (località Colle Rimontato), both situated in the 'Alta Valle del Tappino' (fig. 1). In antiquity this hilly part in the south-eastern Molise is thought to have been inhabited by one of the five Samnite tribes, the so-called Samnites Pentri.²

SAMNIUM

Ancient authors attribute an important role to the Samnites Pentri in Italic resistance to Roman expansion, from the Samnite Wars in the second half of the 4th century BC right up to the Social War in the early first century BC.³ One long debated aspect of Samnite society is its political and social organization, which seems to have functioned within

a rather de-centralized territorial arrangement. In this context, sanctuaries are often assigned a pivotal role as central places with political and commercial as well as religious functions.⁴ In our view, it is this aggregative quality that makes the analysis of sanctuaries so valuable for the study of socio-political changes in Samnite communities.

The lavish attention devoted to sanctuaries by Samnite society, as reflected in the building and



Fig. 1. Topographic map of the Molise, with indication of the sanctuaries of S. Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato (A) and Gildone, località Cupa (B), in the Alta Valle del Tappino area (adapted from Di Niro 1993 fig. 1).



Fig. 2. The sanctuary at S. Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato, with a view on the Tappino Valley, CB (photo J. Waagen).

embellishment activities in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, is striking, especially when they are compared to other public buildings or domestic architecture of the period. The architectural forms chosen and the dedications made suggest that in these places specific group identities were being articulated. These common identities may have assumed ethnic connotations under specific historical circumstances.⁵ This aspect can be grasped most firmly at the sanctuary complex at Pietrabbondante, in all probability the focal point of the Samnite 'sacred landscape'.⁶

Much less is known, however, about the Samnite sacred landscape on a local level: i.e. around the smaller sanctuaries and shrines. Although the general assumption is that these must be 'rural sanctuaries', their 'rurality' cannot simply be assumed *ex silentio*. The existence of a major bias, resulting from a scholarly tradition that paid disproportionate attention on the monumental elements of the landscape at the expense of more modest forms of settlement, should be taken into serious consideration when thinking about the function of sanctuaries. At present, the debate on forms of settlement and the role of sanctuaries within them has reached an impasse, with the function of sanctuaries apparently being interpreted in the light of ideas and preconceptions regarding socio-political configurations. Although our knowledge of Samnite settlements has increased considerably in recent decades,⁷ the issue has never been specifically addressed from a desire to understand the functioning of the 'sacred landscape'. Who visited the smaller sanctuaries dispersed over Samnite territory on a regular basis? It is this basic question that must first be addressed if we are to approach the more difficult issues, such as the intentions of the visitors and how (if

at all) the experience of these communities of worshippers relates to the construction of a larger 'Samnite' entity.

The aim of the 2004 survey has therefore been to shed light on the relationship of the sanctuaries of Colle Rimontato and Cupa to their direct environment, which was formerly unknown, apart from some isolated finds.⁸ We have done this by trying to establish the pattern of settlement into which the respective sanctuaries were inserted. Moreover, through the comparative study of the settlement data and the material from the sanctuaries themselves, from the present survey as well as from the excavations, we hope to gain more insight into the communities that installed, monumentalized, visited and finally abandoned these sacred places.⁹

THE SANCTUARIES OF S. GIOVANNI IN GALDO, COLLE RIMONTATO AND GILDONE, CUPA

The remains at S. Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato, provide a good visual impression of the ancient sanctuary (fig. 2). The temple building represents the monumentalized phase (from the late 2nd to the 1st century BC) and has been considered a 'typical' Samnite sanctuary of this period.¹⁰ The context of the sanctuary is unknown, except for some graves in the vicinity that Angela Di Niro has attributed to the early phase of the sanctuary.¹¹ The sanctuary at Gildone, località Cupa, on the other hand, does not present much architecture *in situ*, due to interventions made in 1935-1938 during the construction of a road. A resemblance to the sanctuary of Colle Rimontato has seemed plausible to most authors.¹² Some of the terracotta roof decoration has been preserved, as well as relatively opulent votive gifts from a nearby deposit.¹³ In the wider area on the slopes of the Montagna di Gildone several archaeological traces have been documented, but the direct context of the sanctuary is unknown.¹⁴

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the landscapes of the sanctuaries of S. Giovanni in Galdo and Gildone, an area of c. 1.5 square km around each sanctuary was investigated, cutting through different geomorphological features such as hilltops, slopes, river valleys and terraces (see fig. 1, indicating the Sacred Landscape Project survey areas).

Both sample areas were surveyed in units of approximately 50 by 100m (0.5 ha) at 10m intervals between participants (~20% coverage) (fig. 3).¹⁵



All the archaeological material encountered was collected, washed and studied. In places where there were too many tiles to collect, their numbers

Fig. 3. Topographic map of the San Giovanni in Galdo region, with indication of the survey units (map grid is 500 x 500m) (J. Waagen).

were counted in small sample areas of 1m². This made a rough estimate of the overall quantity possible. For each unit the land-use, noted erosion processes, tillage and various visibility factors were recorded.

All find concentrations of more than five artefacts per square metre were subjected to closer examination. After a first standard sampling (see above) all the high artefact-density areas (also called 'sites') were re-sampled in order to quantify the density of material at various locations within a concentration, as well as to collect additional diagnostic material for dating and functional analysis. A GPS was used to establish the coordinates and contours of the encountered find concentrations. Both survey unit boundaries and site contours were mapped on 1:10000 maps of the region.

The sanctuary of San Giovanni in Galdo and its immediate surroundings were sampled in a more detailed manner. Here an intensive site-survey method was used. The site area (c. 2.5 ha) was surveyed in units of 10 by 10m (0.1 ha) at 2m intervals (~100% coverage).¹⁶ The main objective of this very time-consuming site survey strategy is to make an artefact density contour map of this complex archaeological reality. On the base of this map we will try to draw up a hypothesis about the possible existence of other structures surrounding the *sacellum*.

FIRST RESULTS

Although study of the survey data is still in progress, some brief preliminary remarks will be made here. Since the main objective of the 2004 survey campaign is to contextualise two sanctuaries with a chronology between the 4th century BC and 2nd century AD, the focus in this report will be on data concerning this particular period.¹⁷

In the area of the San Giovanni in Galdo sanctuary at Colle Rimontato a fairly clustered settlement pattern is individuated. Almost all encountered 'sites' of the Samnite and Roman periods are situated to the east of the sanctuary (fig 4). This so-called Inguno area, rich in natural springs and terraces, is delimited to the east and south by very steep slopes, descending in the east to the Vallone Visciglieto and in the south to the Torrente Fiumarello. In the centre of this panoramic area, at little more than 500m from the Colle Rimontato sanctuary a relatively large concentration of archaeological material is individuated, consisting of large quantities of different coarse wares, tiles and some fine wares, among which fragments of black

gloss and red slip pottery. Woodland makes the precise dimension of this site difficult to establish, but it covers an area of at least 4 ha. The chronology of this settlement appears to correspond with that of the sanctuary (4th century BC-2nd century AD). Concentrated around this nucleus various very small sites are individuated. These comprise limited concentrations of mostly tiles, coarse and plain wares. Remarkably, few other sites from this period have been discovered in the rest of the area investigated around the sanctuary. To the north of the Colle Rimontato, a large villa of the imperial and late Roman period is individuated. This interesting site post-dates the sanctuary, however.

The archaeological situation around the Gildone sanctuary at località Cupa is quite different. Most of the encountered sites of the Samnite and Roman periods are situated in the close vicinity of the modern 'strada statale', very probably an important ancient route.¹⁸ Alongside this road four fairly large (> 1 ha) but dispersed sites have been individuated, at approximately 200m distance from one another (fig. 5). One of these sites is the Cupa sanctuary itself, as was confirmed by the discovery of a column base and large quantities of fine ware. This location matches well with the rather vague and brief description given by Vincenzo D'Amico, a local doctor and historian who documented the 'excavation' of the sanctuary during the road works.¹⁹

Further on, to the north of the road, two smaller sites have been individuated. What is very different from the San Giovanni in Galdo area is the relatively large number of sites predating the Samnite/Roman period. The pre-historic and classical-archaic landscape in this part of the Alta Valle del Tappino seems much richer, or at least much more visible.

CONCLUSION

These first results suggest that the 'rurality' of at least the San Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato sanctuary has to be redefined, as it does not imply complete isolation from human settlement. The presence of a contemporary site of considerable size at a distance of circa 500m may, in relation with the graves attested near the sanctuary,²⁰ indicate the outline of the spatial and social organisation of a small Samnite community. Further research will therefore focus on this relationship, by studying the survey material and sanctuary material in more detail and possibly by a more thorough exploration of the site. On the other side of the Tappino valley the situation seems to grav-

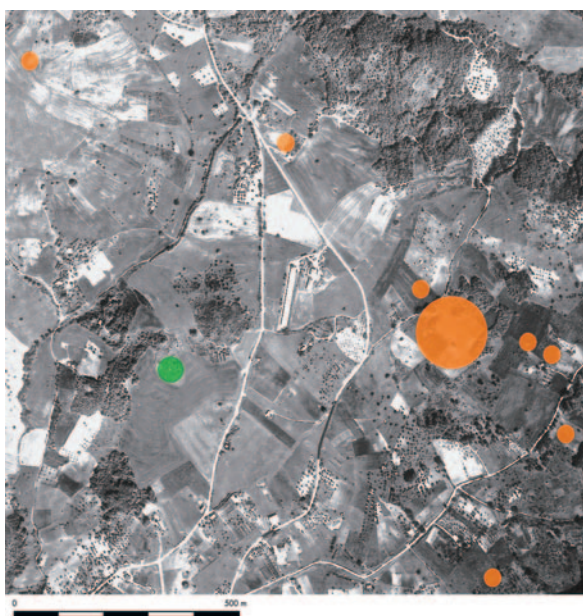


Fig. 4. Aerial photo of the area around the sanctuary at S. Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato, with indication of the >5 artefacts per m² areas with a chronology between the IV century BC and the II century AD, corresponding with that of the sanctuary. The sanctuary site is indicated with a green dot. In red: individuated sites. The big red dot indicates the large concentration of archaeological material found in the Inguno area.

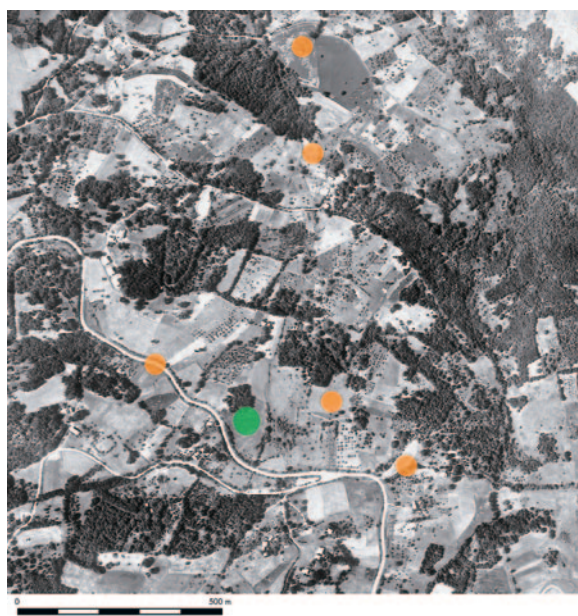


Fig. 5. Aerial photo of the area around the sanctuary at Gildone, località Cupa, with indication of the >5 artefacts per m² areas with a chronology between the IV century BC and the II century AD. The sanctuary site is indicated with a green dot. In red: individuated sites.

itate around the ancient route, and maybe the location of the sanctuary has to be seen in this light as well.²¹ The relation to the hill-fort on the Montagna di Gildone will be given priority in future research, by extending the survey area in this direction as well as more detailed topographic research on the hill-fort itself. The contextualisation of sanctuaries by intensive field survey has learned us so far that the situations in which sanctuaries were installed and frequented may vary greatly from place to place, even within short distances, and that their specific functions may not be deduced from preconceptions on Italic society.

OSSERVAZIONI SUI MATERIALI (M. Roccia)

La maggior parte delle evidenze registrate nel corso del survey consiste di frammenti fittili; l'attribuzione di ciascuna evidenza ad una determinata cronologia si basa essenzialmente sull'analisi dei materiali rinvenuti, e dunque, pressoché esclusivamente, sull'analisi delle ceramiche.²²

Per quanto concerne la possibilità di confrontare

quanto rinvenuto con esemplari già editi, va detto che, relativamente ai contesti archeologici della regione, la tradizione di studi è ancora in costruzione; infatti, per molte classi ceramiche mancano ancora studi sistematici e, dunque, entrare nel dettaglio cronologico, tentando un'analisi delle singole forme, si rivela un'operazione piuttosto complessa.

In ogni modo, dal confronto preliminare con i contesti di scavo disponibili,²³ possono essere delineate, per alcune sequenze cronologiche cruciali, quali quella sannitica, alcune tendenze generali, configurabili nella ripetitività nel repertorio ceramico e nella scarsità di importazioni.

Nel corso del survey si è notato che, relativamente a talune sequenze cronologiche, alcune classi e forme di materiali si presentano costantemente associate; ad esempio, per l'età sannitica, troviamo in associazione la ceramica a vernice nera (*skyphoi*, coppe e patere), contenitori di liquidi in ceramica d'uso o in ceramica fine acroma, tegole con listello profilato a quarto di cerchio, embrici, *opus doliare*; così per il tardo antico, le forme aperte

della sigillata africana, e le loro imitazioni localmente prodotte, si presentano costantemente associate con le forme, prevalentemente chiuse, delle ceramiche *burnished* e *painted*, con i testi, etc.

La ricorrenza costante di tali associazioni ha permesso, già nelle fasi preliminari della ricerca sul campo, di assegnare a determinate evidenze una valenza cronologica relativa.

Particolari problemi presenta l'analisi delle ceramiche in impasto. Non essendo pubblicati contesti regionali,²⁴ la frammentarietà dei pezzi raccolti e l'usura delle loro superfici, non consente, il più delle volte, che di riferirli genericamente ad ampie o amplissime cronologie.

Per quanto concerne i materiali d'età sannitica, si può dire, in generale, che la maggior parte delle ceramiche sembrano prodotte localmente; nell'ambito della ceramica fine e della ceramica d'uso, stringenti appaiono i confronti morfologici con gli esemplari provenienti dai più vicini contesti d'età ellenistica.²⁵

Dal confronto di quanto rinvenuto con i contesti noti, e, in particolare, da quello, ancora in corso, con i materiali provenienti dallo scavo dei due santuari, in buona parte inediti, si vorrebbe ottenere un dettaglio cronologico, relativamente al periodo grosso modo compreso tra il IV secolo a.C. e il II secolo d.C., il più possibile dettagliato. Inoltre, si vorrebbe contribuire, attraverso la comparazione del dato materiale proveniente dai siti dei due santuari con quello riferibile ai nuclei di insediamento sparso identificati sul territorio ad essi circostante, alla comprensione più approfondita della natura delle peculiari relazioni che dovettero stabilirsi, di volta in volta, tra i santuari e le diverse realtà insediative su di essi topograficamente gravitanti.

NOTES

¹ *The Sacred Landscape Project* (SLP) is a cooperation of researchers of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) and the Free University of Amsterdam (VU) and is organised by the authors. The role of 'sacred landscapes' in the construction and expression of identities of Central Italic communities in relation to the Roman expansion is subject to a PhD research by Tesse D. Stek. Jeremia Pelgrom investigates the role of the sacred places of Lucania within socio-political transformation processes after the Roman conquest in the context of his PhD thesis. The small survey campaigns around different sanctuaries are organised in order to solve specific problems encountered in these studies. The 2004 survey was co-organised by Dott. Michele Rocca, who is also responsible for the study of the survey-material. His knowledge of the local topography and ceramics has proved invaluable for this campaign.

² The authors would like to express their gratitude to the

Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise, who actively supported the 2004 project with advice and generously gave access to relevant archaeological information, especially Stefania Capini, Valeria Ceglia, Angela Di Niro and Mario Pagano. The advisory board consists of Herman A.G. Brijder, G.-J.L.M. Burgers, Marijke Gnade, Eric M. Moormann and Douwe G. Yntema (UvA and VU), who are thanked for their help and comments on the text. We also thank the Regione Molise for cartographic and photo materials. Furthermore, we would like to thank Domenica Luciani, Benno Ridderhof, the family Rocca and of course the very motivated team: Vanessa D' Orazio, Sandra Fatica, Michele Fratino, Marie-Catherine Houkes, Debora Lagatta, Bruno Sardella, Ellen Thiermann, whose comments on the text were also highly appreciated, Barbara Valiante, Martijn Kalkwarf, Jitte Waagen and Jeroen Weterings. Our special thanks to J. Waagen who was also responsible for the ACAD drawings. The 2004 survey was supported by a fund from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Institute of Culture and History of the UvA.

³ The classic work on Samnium is Salmon 1967; see now Tagliamonte 1997.

⁴ Cf. La Regina 1989 and Barker 1995 on Samnite society. On the role of sanctuaries in the Central Apennines see Letta 1992; specifically on Samnium: Capini 1996.

⁵ La Regina 1976 *passim*; Dench 1995, esp. 139 and 175-217; Tagliamonte 1997, esp. 128-136 and 235-261.

⁶ Apart from the sumptuous architecture, the supralocal function of the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante becomes clear from the second-century *safinim*-dedication, which is thought to refer to the Pentri as an ethnic group and may reflect a self-conscious appeal to their Samnite tradition (Vetter 1953, 149). Cf. above n. 5; Coarelli/La Regina 1984, 230-256 esp. 236 for the architecture. For a short overview see Stek *forthcoming*.

⁷ e.g. Barker 1995; De Benedittis 1988 and 1990a; Di Niro 1993; Rainini 1996.

⁸ Cf. Di Niro 1980b, 271. For the larger topographical context of both sanctuaries see *ead.* 1993.

⁹ Apart from taking into account the published data from the sanctuaries, Angela Di Niro generously offered the possibility to see the unpublished material of the San Giovanni in Galdo, località Colle Rimontato sanctuary. Cf. following note.

¹⁰ The sanctuary of Colle Rimontato, although subject to private excavations in the 1930's by the landowner at that time, was excavated properly by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise in 1974-1976: La Regina 1976, 237-241; Di Niro 1980b.

¹¹ Di Niro 1980b, 271.

¹² e.g. Di Niro 1993, 13; Tagliamonte 1997, 193. For the documentation see D'Amico 1997 [1953], 26-30; 1954 with map, with Di Niro 1980a, esp. 263 and 1993: according to D'Amico the Cupa sanctuary measured ca. 7,85 x 7,83 m.; that of the Colle Rimontato measured ca. 7,80 x 8,40 m.

¹³ For the finds see Di Niro 1980a (also in Di Niro 1993, figs. 3 and 4).

¹⁴ See Di Niro 1993.

¹⁵ We are very grateful to dr. G.-J. L. M. Burgers for his advice on the technical and practical aspects of field survey. We used a survey methodology developed within the framework of the *Regional Pathways to Complexity Project*: Burgers 2002; Burgers/van Leusen/

- Attema 2004; Van Leusen 2002.
- ¹⁶ After Burgers 1998.
- ¹⁷ The data from the previous and later periods will be published in the final survey report.
- ¹⁸ Di Niro 1980a, 262.
- ¹⁹ D'Amico 1954.
- ²⁰ Cf. above note 11.
- ²¹ Cf. Di Niro 1980a, 262.
- ²² Per quanto concerne la suddivisione in classi, si è cercato di fare riferimento alle principali classi bibliograficamente riconosciute. Per quanto attiene all'analisi di tipo funzionale, si è preferito suddividere i materiali raccolti in pochi grandi raggruppamenti, che permettessero una lettura immediata delle funzioni svolte dalle ceramiche e dagli utensili, ad esempio: impasto, ceramica fine, ceramica d'uso, anfore, bacini, *opus doliare*, utensili, materiali struttivi, etc.
- ²³ Cfr. in particolare, per l'età sannitica, Capini 1984, De Benedittis 1988, Di Niro 1989, Barker 1995, Rainini 1996.
- ²⁴ L'eccezione è costituita dal complesso di materiali dell'età del Bronzo medio di Fonte Maggio, cfr. Barker 1976.
- ²⁵ Ad esempio, Gildone (Morgia della Chiusa), Campochiaro (santuario), Montevairano (fornace di Porta Vittoria); cfr., rispettivamente, Di Niro 1989, Capini 1984, De Benedittis 1990b.

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Argentum Potorium and the Campanian Wall-Painter

The Priscus service revisited

John Tamm

Abstract

The Campanian cities provide numerous wall-paintings with banqueting or banqueting-related imagery, in which the drinking silver tends to feature prominently. At first glance the silverware appears realistic, and the conclusion that the painters used contemporary vessels as models is tempting. However, a close examination of selected paintings, and comparison of the painted vessels to extant silverware of the first centuries BC and AD, shows that such a conclusion needs to be refined. Close parallels between actual and painted vessels are in fact rare; parallels of any kind tend to be rough at best, but often cannot be found. The painters, although providing a plausible representation of actual vessels, did not produce a 'photographic' record.¹

INTRODUCTION

It is not surprising that widespread appreciation of silverware arises at a relatively late period in the Roman Republic; the earlier dearth of the necessary natural resources and apparent official disapproval of ownership of more than scant quantities of silver ensured this would be the case.² By the first century BC, however, after expansion had brought rich silver mines under Roman control and an influx of luxury goods into Rome, the desirability of silverware, in particular to serve as banqueting equipment, is unquestionable. The first great period of Roman silverware production, stretching through the first century AD, is at hand. Literary references to banqueting silverware are ubiquitous, in both poets and prose writers of the period, and finds, ranging from individual pieces to assemblages of varying sizes and compositions, come from all over the Roman world and beyond, in contexts ranging from the domestic to the religious to the funerary.³

This interest in silverware can also be observed in the art of the period, particularly in the field of wall-painting. Of concern here will be that sub-genre dealing with banqueting, or even more precisely, drinking. Some two dozen such paintings are extant; most show reclining banqueters, while one exceptional example shows a drinking service laid out on display on a table. In these paintings the vessels and implements needed for drinking tend to feature prominently, and the painters have clearly taken pains to delineate a wide variety of each. Furthermore, it can be argued with a fair

degree of confidence that most of these vessels and implements are meant to be seen as being made of silver; the painters' techniques and, above all, use of colour make such a determination possible.⁴

Modern scholars have frequently considered the silverware in these paintings to be a reliable indicator of the forms then current in the Roman world.⁵ This point merits detailed examination. If one were able to view the ancient painters almost as photographers, concerned with accurately recording not only the processes but even the fine details of their world, many useful avenues for exploration would be opened up. Not the least of these would involve the working methods of the painters, and the concerns and priorities of their patrons. It would even make it possible to take one set of evidence, either paintings or extant silverware, and use it to study and date the development of the other - always providing that the chosen set could be dated sufficiently closely, and independently of the other. The conjunction of two good and contemporary, that is to say first century BC and AD, bodies of evidence - paintings with banqueting or related subject matter that contain depictions of *argentum potorium*, and numerous extant pieces - enables this question of artistic fidelity to 'real-life' to be studied in depth for this one specific detail.⁶

Six paintings, five from Pompeii and one from Herculaneum, have been chosen for examination here. Each contains a wide variety of drinking vessels and implements, each is sufficiently well-preserved for individual forms to be identifiable.

One of the paintings, from the tomb of Vestorius Priscus at Pompeii, merits special consideration; it contains the widest variety of silverware, and the pieces have the best claim to real-life prototypes. Consequently, it will be dealt with first. The remaining paintings will then be examined, in order to determine whether or not the conclusions drawn from the Priscus painting have a wider application. But the ramifications of this study, in particular with regard to painters' working methods and patrons' concerns, range over a yet broader field. The results of this study, for this one particular in this one medium, should at the least be kept in mind whenever one examines other elements in paintings - or other forms of art - that, at first glance, appear to be derived from contemporary objects.

PART I: THE PRISCUS SERVICE

Arguably the most important of the relevant paintings comes from Pompeii, from the tomb of the aedile Vestorius Priscus (*fig. 1*). It is a depiction of a drinking service, the only such painting extant. The tomb contains numerous other paintings, also an inscription naming Priscus and stating, amongst other things, his age and position.⁷ Accordingly, one can try to date the tomb by epigraphical and prosopographical means, rather than just by stylistic analysis of its decoration. Spano, the original publisher of the tomb, first proposed a Republican date;⁸ he later revised this, on the basis of a probably Claudian bronze coin found in the tomb, to the Claudian or pre-AD 62 Neronian period.⁹ But a considerably later date has since become generally accepted. In Castrén's study of the magistrates of Pompeii, AD 75-76 is suggested for Priscus' aedileship;¹⁰ Mols and Moormann have now refined this dating somewhat, to AD 70-71.¹¹ For the present purpose, the idea that the tomb almost certainly belongs in the early to mid 70s AD is sufficient.

Paintings decorate both the enclosure wall and the tomb block itself. Along with the service, the enclosure wall also carries depictions of a garden, a still life with a peacock, animals, two gladiators, an *aedicula*, and a pomegranate tree, while the tomb block itself carries depictions of a man in a doorway, a banquet, a scene with pygmies, and an audience scene. The funerary context has led to the standard interpretation of the decorative programme, that it either refers to activities in the next world, or commemorates the funerary rituals of this world. Spano first invested the paintings with a funerary significance;¹² others have

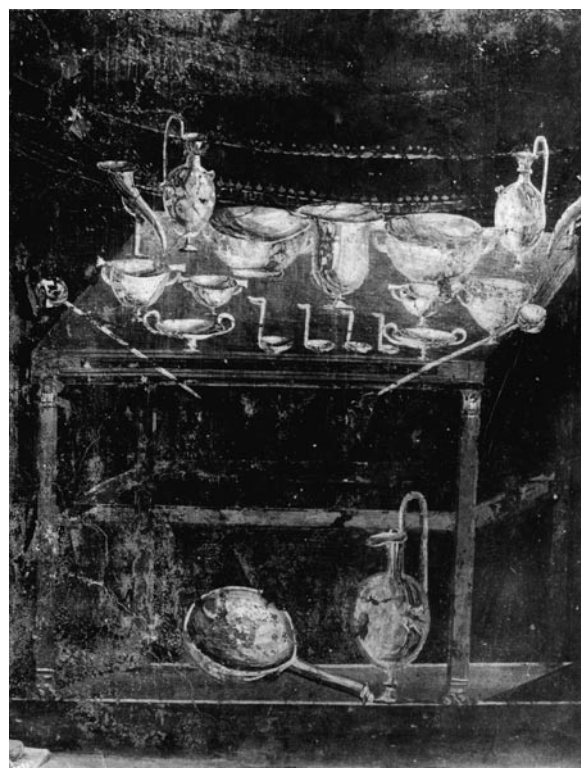


Fig. 1. Painting of a silver drinking service, from the tomb of Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii. Early to mid 70s AD. In situ (photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, Inst. Neg. 31.2529).

since followed his lead.¹³ Given the context, such interpretations are perhaps the obvious ones.

There is, however, another possible interpretation. A strong argument has recently been made by Mols and Moormann that the paintings may instead commemorate specific aspects of Priscus' life and career.¹⁴ Such commemoration is not uncharacteristic of funerary monuments; it is at least possible, therefore, to argue that the silver vessels in the service may indeed be depictions of specific vessels, that the service is a depiction of a specific service, all perhaps owned by Priscus or his family. Such an argument cannot be made with a similar degree of confidence for any of the other banqueting or banqueting-related paintings. Consequently, any investigation of the correspondences between painted and actual vessels should start with the Priscus service.

Description and Comparisons

The service proper contains nineteen vessels, laid out in five rows on a tabletop: eight cups, six

ladles, two each of horns and jugs, and one container.¹⁵ The vessels are placed symmetrically about the central axis with the container serving as the focus of attention, standing on its own in the third row, in the middle of the service. Most of the vessels are present in pairs, corroborating a tendency that is well-attested in the finds, particularly for cups. Only some of the ladles and the container do not conform to this arrangement. The cups and ladles can be further subdivided, on the basis of their forms, into three and two sub-groups respectively: cups with shallow, rounded bodies, cups with semiovoid bodies, and cups with large, deep, slightly rounded bodies; and ladles with horizontal or vertical handles. Even further subdivision is possible in the case of the semiovoid cups, as these are present in two differing sizes of body. A wide variety of vessels is thereby illustrated, but the overall impression is one of a coherent set of vessels, meant to be seen as belonging together as well as being, for the most part, contemporary with one another. Two points in particular lead to this conclusion: the similarity of the handle configurations between some of the cup-types, and the consistent decoration, perhaps intended to represent a garland or branch with leaves projecting to either side, visible on various of the pieces.¹⁶

On the ground before the table stand two more vessels, not quite part of the service because of the separation, but nonetheless associated with it: a silver saucepan and a non-silver jug. This combination of forms, jug and saucepan, will become very common in banqueting scenes; it also has a long history in depictions of sacrifices. This is a handwashing set, here making an early appearance in banqueting iconography.¹⁷

Cups

In the front row are two cups with very broad and shallow bodies, which appear to be rounded. They have looping handles beginning at, or near, the bottom of the body, and then extending outwards for a brief stretch before curving upwards. The handles continue rising above rim-height, at which point they begin to curve back towards the body. They terminate by dropping down, almost vertically at the end, to meet the rim. The handles appear to consist of one solid element each. The cups stand on stemmed feet, with flaring bases and a projecting molding at roughly the midway point of the stem.

The second row contains two pairs of cups with semiovoid bodies; one pair larger than the other.

All have ring handles with thumb-plates, and stand on stemmed feet similar to those of the shallow cups. The handle arrangement is somewhat unusual: there is no finger-rest below the ring, and the 'ring' is only a somewhat distorted quarter-circle. The cup at the left end of the row is relatively well-preserved, suggesting that the roughly horizontal ovoid brushstrokes on its body are a deliberate attempt at showing decoration rather than the results of surface weathering. The other cups are in poorer condition.

In the fourth row are two cups of yet another type. They have large, deep bodies, which are slightly rounded but nonetheless noticeably more cylindrical than those of the semiovoid cups. The handles resemble those on the semiovoid cups. Instead of a stemmed foot, these cups stand on low base-rings. As painted they are very large, almost as tall as, and much broader than, the container, and roughly twice as broad as the semiovoid cups. The painter may have had trouble with the perspective, although the horns and jugs behind these cups do not appear abnormal; perhaps these cups were being emphasised. They also show on their bodies roughly horizontal ovoid brushstrokes, recalling those on the semiovoid cup.

Of the three major components of these cups, body, handles, and foot, only the first two are sufficiently distinctive to be usable in a search for parallels amongst extant pieces. Stemmed feet and base-rings are ubiquitous; most cups, whether painted or actual, have one or the other. Numerous more-or-less subtle variants may be discerned in the pieces, but the paintings are neither sufficiently detailed nor sufficiently well-preserved to justify such a close analysis.

In the case of the shallow cups, neither body nor handle forms can be closely paralleled. Deeper bowls and/or differently configured handles are usual even for those pieces whose form is roughly similar. Coming close is a shallow cup from Bori, perhaps of the first half of the first century AD, now missing its foot and the lower part of its body.¹⁸ But enough remains of the body to show it was still much deeper than that of the Priscus cups, and the handles neither extend as far outwards nor do they drop as vertically to the rim. Farther away are the members of a group of four cups from the Boscoreale treasure, dated not more precisely than to the first centuries BC/AD (*fig. 2*).¹⁹ There is the stemmed foot, the handles do loop up over the rim before descending. But the bowl is considerably deeper, and the handles are configured quite differently: they are relatively small, do not reach down to the rim but stop short,



Fig. 2. Small rounded cup, from the Boscoreale treasure. 1st century BC/AD. Paris, Louvre Bj 1917 (photo © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY).



Fig. 3. Semiovoid cup with plane branches, from the Boscoreale treasure. Mid-1st century AD. Paris, Louvre Bj 1910 (photo © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY).

just above it, and do not loop as far out from the body nor do they descend as vertically as they do on the painting. Furthermore, these are small cups, much smaller than the Priscus cups appear to be.

Looping handles, meanwhile, appear on a variety of cup types. But although the form enforces a general similarity to the Priscus handles, it really is more a question of variations on the theme. Perhaps the closest are the handles on the two cups from Zohor,²⁰ dated to the first half of the first century AD. They start near the bottom of the body and then swing out noticeably, as do the handles on the Priscus cup, before looping up over and then down to the rim. Some now-incomplete Augustan cups from Xanten also seem to have had similar handles.²¹ But both the Zohor and Xanten cups have a noticeably deeper, more upright, body; furthermore, their handles' ends are offset slightly from the rim instead of meeting it directly. The Zohor cups, moreover, stand on a low base-ring. Earlier versions of this general form may be found in the pre-72/1 BC cup from the Palmi group,²² and a third-century BC cup from the Tarentum hoard.²³ In these examples, however, the handles consist of two strands each rather than one.

In other instances, similarities with the Priscus handles become quite tenuous. Looping handles are frequently encountered on the deeper, semiovoid, type of cup, but in these cases the handles often begin not from the bottom but from somewhere higher up the body, do not extend outwards as noticeably as they do on the Priscus cups nor, for that matter, the Zohor and Xanten cups, might not drop back vertically to the rim, and even

might stop short of the rim. At times, one may be justified in detecting a faint reflection of the Priscus configuration, as for example on a mid-first century BC one-handed semiovoid cup from Pompeii I 6,11,²⁴ but more often the only point of contact is the overall idea of a looping handle. Representative examples are a pair of cups, dated to the mid-first century BC, with olive branch decoration from the Casa del Menandro treasure,²⁵ and the Claudian-Neronian pair of cups with Centaurs and Erotes from Pompeii;²⁶ here the join between handles and rim is given decorative additions.

For the semiovoid cups, the form of the body is very familiar from the pieces. Extant examples are numerous and span the whole of the period from the first century BC through the first century AD. To illustrate the range, one can point to the late-republican Venus and Mars cups from the Casa del Menandro treasure,²⁷ the late-Republican to Augustan cup from Alesia,²⁸ the first-century AD cups with plane branches from the Boscoreale treasure (fig. 3),²⁹ and the Julio-Claudian cup formerly in the Fleischman collection.³⁰

It is difficult to find parallels for the handles, the slightly irregular feature, even though the idea of thumbplate with partial ring also spans the whole of the relevant period. It is present already in a ca 150-100 BC cup from Taman;³¹ other examples, to name but a few, come from the Hildesheim treasure (Augustan),³² Lubieszewo I (Neronian),³³ and Leg Piekarski 2 (first century AD to first half of second century AD).³⁴ However, these are parallels only in the sense that they too are based on the idea of thumbplate and partial ring. Perhaps closer are the handles on two mid-first century



Fig. 4. Cup, from Thorey. Ca. 100-50 BC. Chalon-sur-Saône, Musée Denon 86.3.15 (photo courtesy of L. Bonnamour, Musée Denon, Chalon-sur-Saône).

AD still-life cups from the Boscoreale treasure,³⁵ although the ring is overly pronounced, especially where it meets the body. Also closer are the handles on several first century BC/AD cups from Pompeii I 8,14,³⁶ although here the opposite is true, the handle extends too far down the body before joining it.

For the large cups in the fourth row, the form of the body is not easy to match. Extant cups of similar form are generally less rounded, although the Boscoreale still-life cups whose handles are similar also have bodies that are somewhat more rounded. They are, however, smaller than the Priscus cups appear to be. Perhaps one of the closest matches for the body is the ca 100-50 BC example from Thorey (fig. 4), but that cup too is relatively small.³⁷ Similar also, in size and form, are the two pre-74 BC cups from Paradela de Guiães;³⁸ the Late Republican cup from Giubiasco already has a less-rounded form.³⁹ There are some large examples of the general form extant, namely the cups from Hoby (Augustan),⁴⁰ the Augustus and Tiberius cups from the Boscoreale treasure (Augustan),⁴¹ and especially the two from the Berthouville treasure (Neronian-Vespasianic);⁴² however, all have much more cylindrical bodies.

Ladles

At each end of the front row is an object with a long, thin handle and a circular termination. These have been identified as spoons (*cochlearia*).⁴³ Although the form is similar these are larger, and given that the rest of the objects on the table are drinking implements, perhaps it would be better to view these objects also as drinking implements. Whether they are stirrers or ladles with horizontal handles is a more difficult question to answer, but a closer look at the terminations reveals sug-

gestions of depth. It is more likely, therefore, that these objects are ladles.

Also in the front row are four ladles with vertical handles and shallow, broad bowls. The handles are relatively short, with a sharp change to a short horizontal termination bending upwards slightly at its tip. In each case the handle is on the left, breaking the symmetry. The ladles diminish in size from left to right. This could be an attempt to show differently-sized vessels; alternatively, it could be the result of the painter's realisation that space was running out and consequently that adjustments had to be made to fit all four ladles in. In general, the layout is more crowded on the right-hand side of the table, and the rightmost semiovoid cup stands at the very edge of the table - in contrast with the generous spacing provided on the left-hand side.

Only a few ladles with horizontal handles appear in the finds; they compare well to the Priscus pieces. A late-Republican example in the Getty museum also has a noticeably long handle.⁴⁴ Another very similar example, of the first century BC/AD, comes from the Boscoreale treasure.⁴⁵ Two more from this same treasure stand farther away, as they have spouted bowls.⁴⁶

As far as the ladles with vertical handles are concerned, versions with longer handles and deeper bowls predominate in the pieces, but the shallow and broad-bowled, relatively short versions can also be found. The best parallel, dated only to the first century BC/AD, comes from Pompeii I 8,14, the house of M. Epidius Primus;⁴⁷ however, the termination curves gently backwards rather than sharply. One or more similarly dated examples come from the Boscoreale⁴⁸ and Casa del Menandro⁴⁹ treasures. These have the shallow and broad bowl, but not the horizontal termination on the handle. A parallel does exist for the short, horizontal termination reaching backwards away from the vessel, although it appears on one of the deeper-bowled and longer-handled versions, a bronze ladle of unknown provenance dated broadly to the first century AD.⁵⁰

Horns

On the outside of the fourth row are drinking horns, set in stands. The horns are plain, with a curving body and a flaring lip at the wide end. The curve is very gentle; this contributes to the overall vertical emphasis of the horns - in order not to spill contents out of the top end, they would have to be held in a roughly upright position.

The presence of horns is remarkable because no Roman silver horns dating to this period appear to survive. Some glass horns with a fairly similar form do exist, showing that the vessel-type was not wholly unknown in this period.⁵¹

Jugs

In the fifth row are two jugs. Each has a roughly egg-shaped body standing on a stemmed foot that flares out at the base, a tall, thin neck with a flaring, circular mouth, and a thin handle that rises vertically from about the midpoint of the body to above the mouth and then curves down sharply, to drop vertically to the rim. Each also has a small projecting molding on the neck, below the mouth. They too have, on their bodies, the double row of ovoid brushstrokes already observed on some of the cups, although these markings seem to be more vertical here. There is a somewhat similar jug on the ground in front of the table; it is not of silver, however, has no molding on the neck, and clearly has a trefoil mouth.

The Berthouville treasure supplies the only two examples of extant pieces with even roughly similar forms (*fig. 5*).⁵² Obvious differences include the thick necks, low bases rather than tall feet, and handles that curve as they rise up from the body and descend to the rim. Moreover, the handles have thumbrests at their tops, unlike the Priscus jugs. Künzl has dated these examples to the mid-first century AD;⁵³ thus they will be not much if at all earlier than the painting. There may have been a similar jug in the Hildesheim treasure; only the handle survives.⁵⁴ This resembles the Berthouville jugs' handles in its curvatures and its thumbrest.

Container

The third row contains only one vessel, a tall, narrow, handleless container. The body is roughly tulip-shaped, and stands on a lower version of the foot seen in the cups. It also has a double row of circular brushstrokes on its body.

The one extant example of this form comes from the Hildesheim treasure (*fig. 6*).⁵⁵ It is of Augustan date; the peopled vegetal-scroll decoration is characteristic. It compares well to the vessel in the Priscus painting. One major and some minor differences are apparent; the Hildesheim piece stands on a low flaring base, without the intermediate stem that is seen in the painting, while the vessel in the painting seems taller, narrower, and more curving, and also is handleless. In general, though, the forms are strikingly similar.

Saucepan

The other vessel below the table is a thin-handled silver saucepan. Because of the angle at which it is seen, nothing definitive can be said about the form and depth of the body; it seems to be shallow rather than deep.

This vessel is another rarity, the only one depicted in a banqueting painting at this period. In the pieces, the saucepan seems first to appear in the late first century BC, and then increase in popularity throughout the first century AD. A search for parallels for the Priscus vessel is hindered by the inability to see the precise shape of the body. On the assumption that it is shallow, one can point to parallels in bronze;⁵⁶ extant silver examples have deeper bodies.



Fig. 5. Jug, from the Berthouville treasure. Mid-1st century AD. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles C19710 (photo Bibliothèque nationale de France).



Fig. 6. Container, from the Hildesheim treasure. Augustan. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 62 (photo courtesy of Ilona Trabert/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin).

Priscus Service Conclusions

If the service were the result of a painter's copying of actual pieces or an actual service, one might expect to find parallels for the painted vessels. One would also expect that such parallels would apply to vessels in their entirety, and that the best parallels would - in all likelihood - come from the Vesuvius region. As silver was portable and artists at least potentially mobile, one perhaps should not insist upon exact geographical correspondence between painted vessels and found parallels, but such correspondence could nonetheless be expected. Given the value placed on old silver,⁵⁷ it would not be surprising if at least some parallels proved to be older, even considerably older, than the painting. The painted service might even turn out to be a mix of vessels of different ages - the Boscoreale and Casa del Menandro treasures well illustrate the varying ages and styles of silverware that a large assemblage could contain. Even allowing for this possible range of variations, however, the service turns out to be quite eclectic.

The container, due to its very close resemblance to the Hildesheim container, has the best parallel of all, although it comes from some sev-

enty to eighty years earlier. The semiovoid cups also have good parallels, from throughout the period in question and from throughout the Roman world, but only for their bodies; parallels for the handles are all unsatisfactory for one reason or another, although perhaps one may suggest that similar handles are more a feature of the later part of the relevant period. Both kinds of ladles also find parallels, the vertically-handled examples more from the first century AD, the horizontally-handled examples from somewhat earlier pieces. But the shallow cups can be paralleled only roughly, and even then only in the handles. The best matches come first from earlier in the first century AD, from finds outside of Italy let alone the Vesuvius region; otherwise one must look back to the early first century BC, and even earlier. The form of the body is quite unknown at this period; various shallow-bowled vessels do however exist in Hellenistic times. The deep, slightly rounded cups again have unsatisfactory parallels for their handles, as was the case for the semiovoid cup handles, while their bodies are, in essence, unparallelled. The same can be said for the jugs. The saucepan is an unknown quantity, because its form is unclear. If the assumption made here about the body is correct, then the vessel finds parallels but not in silver. The horns also are unparallelled in silver, and rare in other materials.

In fine, parallels for the painted vessels, if found, need not come from Italy, let alone the Vesuvius region. They may be contemporary, somewhat older, or considerably older. They may parallel a painted piece more-or-less closely, or only roughly, or only in parts - which need not be contemporary with one another. And yet the service, as the consistent decoration and handle configurations show, seems to have been intended as such, made up of contemporary pieces that belong together. The conclusions to be drawn from this are that the painter did not, as a rule, copy actual pieces, and that a real service, whether contemporary with the painting or otherwise, did not serve as a model for the painted one. Some vessels may have been based on actual examples, but they are the exceptions.

The patron's (or patrons') motives therefore need to be re-examined as well. Rather than suggesting that a desire to immortalise a particular service, or even particular pieces, was paramount, one needs to take a broader view. Possession of silverware, as indeed other luxury goods, doubtless also served as an indicator of one's wealth or status. Pliny notes that in the pre-Sullan period, numerous silver dishes of one hundred pounds

weight were in existence;⁵⁸ vessels of this size suggest that their owners were concerned with more than just function. Perhaps this was merely a way in which to store part of one's wealth - but one may look for other explanations. The behaviour of the emperor Claudius' slave Drusillanus brings to mind a similar conclusion; according to Pliny he owned a silver dish weighing five hundred pounds, which was accompanied by eight smaller side dishes, each weighing two hundred and fifty pounds.⁵⁹ A few exceedingly large collections are also mentioned by Pliny.⁶⁰ In the closing decades of the first century AD, Martial in particular continues to stress the value of silverware and its desirability as a gift, especially at the Saturnalia.⁶¹ Quantities ranging from one-half to five pounds are mentioned; the underlying process is well-established, even if the precise quantities are not.⁶² Meanwhile, Suetonius writes of the poverty and degradation of the emperor Domitian's youth, spent in a house without silver tablewares.⁶³ There also seems to have been a flourishing trade in producing 'authentic' Greek works, to meet the demand for old silver.⁶⁴

One can then look at the painted service in the following way. It is not a 'photographic' representation of a specific service owned by Priscus or his family, but in its richness, in the quantity and variety of pieces, some of which seem very rare, it symbolises the capabilities, potential or realised, of Priscus and/or his family. The painted service is emblematic of the *type* of service they own or are capable of owning, or want others to believe that they own or are capable of owning, a service that includes not only an exceedingly large, heavy - and thus valuable in its own right - container, but also a touch of the exotic, in the case of the horns. It matters less whether they do, in fact, own precisely such a service; of greater concern is the impression left on the viewer. Such a conclusion does not fundamentally affect the interpretation of the overall decorative programme as being concerned with Priscus' life and career. It does move the discussion back to a more general level, something that, in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, is preferable.

It nevertheless remains possible that some vessels may have been based on actual examples. The remarkable similarity of the Priscus container to the Hildesheim example seems more than coincidental. Given the nature of such a piece, if Priscus or his family did own a similar vessel then its inclusion in the painting - as the centrepiece, no less - would not be surprising. That the painting is considerably later than the parallel should not be

a concern here. As has been mentioned before, old silver was valued; this may just have added other layers of meaning to the message: Priscus' family is such that this kind of vessel is a family heirloom, or perhaps, Priscus' family is capable of appreciating antiques.

As all the pieces in the service appear to be of usable size and form, especially if one discounts the over-sized cups in the fourth row as the products of painter error, one cannot with confidence connect the service with the idea of display silver, pieces that are purely decorative rather than functional (and decorative). But even though the service is not display silver *per se*, the few unusual pieces and the manner of the presentation might nevertheless add such overtones. Sideboards (*abaci*) on which to mount a display of vessels, be they functional or not, made from silver or gold or other precious materials, are attested in the relevant period;⁶⁵ the practice has continued down to the present day, at times even with precise correlations between a person's status and the quantity of silverware that could be displayed.⁶⁶ The presentation of the Priscus service is such as to maximise the impact of the various pieces; one may imagine the effect - if this were a real service - on a viewer of this initial display, before the pieces were put to use. Yet another shade of meaning may therefore be present in the painting.

PART II: COMPARANDA

Study of the Priscus service leads to one set of conclusions about the fidelity of painted silverware to actual pieces, but, as mentioned earlier, there are some two dozen relevant paintings. Moreover, because the Priscus painting - for all practical purposes - is unique in its subject matter, its representativity may be called into question. While it will not be possible to examine in similar detail each of the other paintings, those that are best suited to such investigations have been selected for discussion in what follows. These are the paintings that both contain a variety of vessel types, and are sufficiently well-preserved that the forms of most, if not all, of the pieces can be determined. Examination of these paintings will lead to a better understanding of whether the treatment of silverware in the Priscus service is anomalous, or part of an overall pattern.

Five paintings have been selected for further study. All are banquet scenes, involving one or two reclining couples; subsidiary figures, for example attendants or entertainers, may also be present. Three come from the Third Style *triclin-*

ium of Pompeii IX 12,6, the Casa dei Casti Amanti; each is the central panel picture of its wall, and depicts two banqueting couples. Those on the west (fig. 7, henceforth CCA-West) and north (henceforth CCA-North) walls are contemporary;⁶⁷ that from the east wall (henceforth CCA-East), in a noticeably different style, is later - the wall shows signs of reconstruction.⁶⁸ The fourth



Fig. 7. Banquet scene, from the west wall of the triclinium of Pompeii IX.12.6, the Casa dei Casti Amanti. Ca. AD 35-45. In situ (photo: © Scala/Art Resource, NY).



Fig. 8. Banquet scene, from Pompeii. Third-Fourth Style. Naples, Museo Nazionale 9015 (photo Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY).

painting, of the Third or Fourth Style, comes from an unknown location in Pompeii (fig. 8);⁶⁹ it repeats the composition of CCA-North. The fifth, of the Fourth Style, comes from Herculaneum (fig. 9).⁷⁰ It shows an athletic male drinking from a horn, and his companion.⁷¹ There is no question of display silver in these paintings; many pieces are shown in use, and all appear of usable form and size.

Descriptions and Comparisons

As was the case with the Priscus service, a variety of vessels and implements are depicted in these paintings. In fact, the inclusion of various bowls and also of some cup-types not present in the Priscus service makes the overall collection even more extensive.

Bowls

Three kinds of bowl are present in these paintings. The first is the large, wide-mouthed bowl held by the woman in the left-hand couple in CCA-West. The bowl's sloping walls appear to flare slightly at the rim; the transition from walls to bottom is rounded. No parallels exist in extant bowls, which in any case are smaller than this bowl appears to be, although some, in their component parts, may carry passing resemblances to the form observed here.



Fig. 9. Banquet scene, from Herculaneum. Fourth Style. Naples, Museo Nazionale 9024 (photo Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY).

The second, for which there are extant parallels, is the bowl from which the entertainer at the left edge of CCA-North, and its companion piece from Pompeii, is drinking. The bowl is roughly U-shaped, deep with fairly upright walls. The best matches are a bowl now in Pavia,⁷² and three bowls from tombs at Ornavasso.⁷³ All of these are early, dating to the second century or early first century BC. Some first century AD bowls pick up this body form, but then add a base and repoussé decoration.⁷⁴

The third kind is the small, shallow, rounded bowl, standing upside down on the table in CCA-North. The form approaches, but does not quite reach, a hemisphere. There are some potential parallels. Perhaps closest is a bowl from the earlier of the groups from Boscoreale, dated to the first quarter of the first century BC,⁷⁵ which appears right in both size and form.⁷⁶ Farther away are nine small bowls from the Boscoreale treasure,⁷⁷ and a pair from Pompeii, which however clearly have flat bottoms;⁷⁸ these all have only a very broad first century BC to first century AD date.

Semiovoid cups

Two versions of the semiovoid cup appear in these paintings. A squarer, chunkier version, with a flatter bottom than on other such cups, stands at the right on the central table in CCA-West. It finds no parallels in extant pieces. On the other hand, a version very similar to those in the Priscus service stands on the left side of the table in the Herculaneum painting. It is difficult to say whether the unusual handle configuration, thumbplates only, is a deliberate attempt at showing a variant type, or simply the result of accidental or deliberate abbreviation of a more standard handle. Given that the shallow-bowled cup here on the table at the right does have ring handles and thumbplates, perhaps the first option is a possibility. No certain parallels for this handle configuration appear to be extant.

Shallow, rounded cups

Four of the five paintings, CCA-North being the exception, contain cups with rounded rather than semiovoid bodies, although in CCA-West the precise form of the body is obscured by the way in which it is being held. In the other paintings, the body may be shallow (CCA-East, two examples on the table), or somewhat deeper and more rounded (Herculaneum), or even have more angled walls and a slightly flaring rim, as if it were a hybrid of



Fig. 10. Large kantharos, from the Hildesheim treasure. Augustan. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 63 (Photo © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/ Art Resource, NY).

the semiovoid and rounded types (Pompeii). None find good parallels in the extant pieces, although a set of four plain cups, from Pompeii but of uncertain date,⁷⁹ give an idea of the more rounded form. Blurring of the boundaries between cup-types, as evident in the version in the Pompeii painting, can also be seen in the extant pieces. For the present purpose, a good example of this phenomenon is the Augustan garland cup from the Hildesheim treasure.⁸⁰ Unlike the cup in the painting, however, the Hildesheim cup does have handles.

Kantharoi

The *kantharos* is very frequently encountered in all the banqueting paintings, not just the ones under discussion here. The configuration remains consistent: a two stage body consisting of a shallow, rounded bottom section topped by tall concave walls, along with a stemmed foot and looping handles that rise up from the rounded section over the rim, before dropping down to meet it.⁸¹ There are, however, many variations. Proportions may differ, so that examples range from the tall and thin to the squat and chunky; the degree of concavity of the walls may vary; the handles may

vary in size, degrees of curvature, and extent to which they project out from the body and/or up over the rim. CCA-West contains both a tall and thin version, held by the figure standing in the background, and a squatter version, standing on the table at the right of the scene. The tall and narrow version appears also in CCA-North, held by one of the reclining women, although it is not quite as narrow and has handles that project further out from the body; another example may be found in the painting from Pompeii. The form also appears twice in CCA-East. The squatter, chunkier form reappears in a noticeably more angular variant, standing on the table in the painting from Pompeii.

The form, in all its variants, is infrequently observed in the pieces. The tall and narrow version finds a rough parallel in a late-Republican cup of unknown provenance,⁸² although the piece is not as rounded, especially in the transition from walls to bottom section, and only has one handle. The Hildesheim treasure contained an Augustan vessel with this form, but with dimensions increased to such an extent that it must have functioned as another container (*fig. 10*).⁸³ Rough parallels for only the body form of the squatter version are supplied by another two Augustan cups from the Hildesheim treasure (*fig. 11*). These cups are currently handleless, however, and may always have been so.⁸⁴

Kalathoi

The *kalathos* also occurs frequently in all the banqueting depictions, always standing on a table and associated with other cups and implements. Of the paintings under discussion here, only CCA-East does not contain at least one example. The readily identifiable form, consisting of a flat bottom and walls that rise either vertically or angled slightly outwards before flaring out at the rim, remains consistent, although again variations in emphasis occur; versions with and without handles are observed.⁸⁵ The body form is very familiar from the pieces, with extant examples ranging in date from the mid-first century BC to the mid-first century AD.⁸⁶ If anything, the curvature of the walls and the flaring of the lip are more obvious in the pieces than in the depictions; the rim is also more prominent than in the painted versions of this type.

The extant pieces preserve a variety of handle configurations, based on some sort of a ring. None have the double wishbone arrangement as seen in CCA-North. These handles are a curious feature;



Fig. 11. Kantharos, from the Hildesheim treasure. Augustan. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 13 (photo © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/ Art Resource, NY).

they are steeply-angled and double, rising from the lower third of the body and curving sharply back on themselves at the outer end. Thus they resemble, admittedly vaguely, some of the handles mentioned as possible parallels for the handles on the shallow, rounded cups in the Priscus service. Handles similar to those on the Casti Amanti *kalathos* do appear on silver and ceramic vessels of earlier periods, although none of these have the *kalathos* form.⁸⁷ Moreover, the handles usually project further outwards than on the Casti Amanti cup. Dates for vessels with such handles range from the fifth century BC into the early Hellenistic period; they do not appear to persist beyond the fourth century BC.⁸⁸ The *kalathos* form, meanwhile, or at least a reasonably close resemblance, can also be found in the Hellenistic and earlier periods, but seemingly not with these distinctive handles.⁸⁹

Jugs

Jugs appear rarely in the depictions; furthermore, the one in CCA-West is the only one that is both well-preserved and clearly made of silver. The jug has a tall foot, deep semiovoid body, flat shoulders, narrow neck, flaring mouth, and a thin handle that extends up over the mouth before dropping down to meet it. No extant jug matches its form.

Ladles (vertical handle)

Ladles with vertical handles are frequently observed in the paintings, including all five currently under discussion. These have longer handles and bowls that are, in varying degrees, narrower and deeper, than the ladles in the Priscus service. Furthermore, the handles may be straight or gently curving, and they may have no termination, a termination that just extends the line of the handles, or a termination that curves backwards to a greater or lesser degree. Examples in which the handle is straight and has no termination come from all three of the Casti Amanti paintings, and the painting from Pompeii. Two examples with straight handles and curving terminations come from the right-hand table in CCA-West. Finally, the Herculaneum painting supplies a ladle with a short, gently curving handle and a curved termination.

This is also a popular form in the extant pieces, which supply many reasonable parallels. If anything, the painted versions are simpler, with fewer decorative ornaments visible. The overall shape and handle configurations compare very well. For an early example, one can suggest the ca 100-75 BC ladle from the Arcisate treasure.⁹⁰ It has the deep, narrow bowl and straight handle; the termination differs in turning right back on itself. The terminations on the ladles in the depictions do not curve so dramatically, but this is frequently observed in the pieces. The mid-first century BC ladle from the Tivoli hoard is similar.⁹¹ Another first century BC/AD example, found in the piazzale before the amphitheatre in Pompeii, has a much less dramatically curved termination.⁹²

Containers

The unit of non-silver basin into which a silver container has been inserted appears in a handful of banqueting paintings, including two discussed here: CCA-North and the painting from Pompeii. The container appears just to be a very large, broad, bowl with gently angled walls. Unfortunately, its placement within the basin means that only its upper parts are visible. No comparable bowls are extant.

Stirrers (and/or ladles with horizontal handles)

If the objects with long, thin handles and disk-shaped terminations,⁹³ included in CCA-East and the painting from Herculaneum are in fact ladles

with horizontal handles, then the same parallels apply as for the Priscus examples. But no suggestions of depth are visible in these terminations, making the identification as stirrers more probable. Only one similar implement is extant, although fragmentary. It belongs to the early first century BC Palmi group.⁹⁴

Horns

Horns appear in CCA-East, one on a table and another being used by a banqueter, and in the Herculaneum painting. One of the Casti Amanti examples, is clearly, however, not made of silver. As was mentioned in the discussion of the Priscus service horns, there are no extant silver examples.

Comparanda: Conclusions

It is again unusual to find a close extant parallel for a painted vessel; parallels are more usually either rough, or applicable only to individual components of a painted vessel rather than the whole. Many of the painted vessels find no parallels. When parallels, of any kind, are found, they tend to come from vessels earlier, and sometimes much earlier in date than the paintings, nor need they come from vessels found in the Vesuvius region.

One further complication arises at this point, the question of prototypes. It is also the case in other genres of Romano-Campanian wall-painting that two, or more, paintings repeat the same basic composition. One such instance has been discussed here, involving CCA-North; the composition of CCA-West was also repeated elsewhere in Pompeii, but the loss of the original has forced the omission of this replica from the discussion.⁹⁵ For a variety of reasons, it is perhaps best to view such repetitions as the results of reliance on a prototype. Elements that recur may be ascribed to the prototype, elements that differ to the painter and/or patron. In the case of CCA-North, the silverware on the tables differs, while the bowl held by one of the entertainers, the *kantharos* held by one of the reclining women, and the basin-container unit, repeat. Of these only the bowl found parallels, in vessels of the second-to-early-first centuries BC. It is likely that any prototypes would go back to the Hellenistic period, although this is clearly not a certainty; the early date of the parallel for the bowl is therefore not surprising. The possibility that the other three paintings discussed here were based on prototypes must therefore also be kept in mind, even

though no replicas of these paintings are known. At the least, this adds another layer of difficulty to the investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this investigation, both for the Priscus service and for selected other banqueting paintings, are consistent. Close parallels for complete vessels, whether contemporary or earlier, are the exception; more usually, parallels are rough, or may apply only to parts of a vessel. The various components of a painted vessel may even find their best parallels in corresponding components of extant pieces from different periods or locations. Parallels, if found, may come from all over the Roman world rather than the circumscribed geographical region from which one might most expect them to come. Many pieces, however, find no parallels at all. The evidence suggests, therefore, that while painters may, on occasion, have based a painted vessel on a real one, they did not do so as a rule, nor did they copy actual services.

Apart from other considerations, this conclusion, together with the question of prototypes, makes use of the paintings to elucidate questions of silverware development and chronology very adventurous, to say the least. Direct copying of actual pieces would also imply painter access to the pieces, possibly another problematic concept. It is by no means the case that all patrons must have had silverware collections. The houses in which banqueting scenes are found run the range between humble and grand; the Casa dei Casti Amanti, for example, appears to have been a bakery.⁹⁶ Admittedly, one may assume that a painter would work in a number of buildings during a career, and so could potentially be exposed to a great variety of furnishings as well as interior decorations. Elements from one location could then influence work in another. But one should still ask whether patrons with silverware collections would necessarily be amenable to displaying parts or all of their collections for the painters.

On what, then, were the painters relying, if not actual pieces? If they were instead copying closely the vessels from some sort of prototype, either an existing work of art, be that a painting or otherwise, or some sort of pattern in a patternbook, then the vessels there must have been an equally eclectic assortment. The presence of old vessels in the paintings is not so problematic, as the prototypes themselves would be of an earlier date. But this still leaves the remaining difficulties: the ves-

sels that can only be paralleled in parts, the vessels whose components find parallels in different extant pieces, the vessels with no parallels. Furthermore, it is clear that not all the elements in a painting must have come from a prototype.

The question of patternbooks, their forms, contents, and usage, is a vexed one, beyond the scope of this article. However, their possible relevance for the current investigation merits a few words. If the prototype that lay behind CCA-North and its companion piece was a pattern in a patternbook, then one can see that it must have been a fairly detailed pattern, and that the painters followed it rather closely. The presence or absence of the attendant with the amphora is the major difference between the two paintings; other differences are less immediately noticeable. On the other hand, the differences between CCA-West and its companion piece are dramatic - most noticeably, the reclining couple on the right, their couch, and their table with its silverware have all been replaced by an attendant holding a ladle. This suggests that the patterns in a patternbook could take many forms: fully worked out schemes, or smaller units that could be combined, at the painter's or patron's desire, into a larger scheme. The same idea may apply to silverware. A patternbook may have contained detailed reproductions of vessels, or services, but it may also have included these only in rough form, giving the basic outlines of a variety of vessels or a sketchy version of a complete service, that would then have to be adapted and/or completed by the painter, perhaps incorporating suggestions or requests from the patron.

Rather than look to any one source for the painted vessels, therefore, a range of possibilities should be examined. In some instances, the painters do appear to have followed closely actual vessels; at other times, they doubtless followed their prototypes. But the majority of the painted vessels are better seen as productions of the artists' imaginations, as amalgamations, sometimes jumbled, of all possible sources of inspiration: actual pieces, vessels in other works of art, reproductions (of whatever degree of detail) in patternbooks, workshop traditions, even patrons' requirements. From the painters' point of view, it seems that the main desire was for plausible representations of drinking vessels, sufficiently plausible to be acceptable to contemporary viewers, but not necessarily such close copies that actual pieces, or for that matter services, could consistently be identified as providing models.⁹⁷ This may also have sufficed for the patrons, but even if further messages were

being sent, painstaking reproduction of their own, or other people's, silverware does not appear to have been necessary to communicate these messages.

In terms of other ramifications, this study shows that one cannot simply assume that painted versions of objects accurately reproduce the objects themselves, even when this might seem to be the obvious conclusion to draw. In the matter of silverware there is sufficient evidence to make the necessary comparisons; this is not, however, always the case. One may be on surer ground in the question of processes, but for fine details, a cautious approach is preferable. At the risk of seeming overly negative, one may suggest that similar caution should be extended to other genres of art as well, indeed wherever representations of actual objects may be found.

NOTES

¹ Preliminary, abbreviated forms of this article were presented as a paper at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of Canada, in Winnipeg, and as a poster at the 2001 AIPMA conference in Budapest/Veszprém (Tamm 2004). For questions about and discussions of the ideas presented here, the author wishes to thank the participants at these conferences, in particular J. Clarke, M. Larvey, E.W. Leach, S.T.A.M. Mols, and E.M. Moormann. A special debt of gratitude is owed to K.M.D. Dunbabin, under whose supervision the dissertation (Tamm 2001), which includes the original statement of these ideas, was written. The author is also indebted to W.J. Slater and G. Umholtz for their invaluable assistance at various stages of this work. Many thanks are also due to I. Trabert and L. Bonnamour for their kind provision of some illustrations. The Department of Classics and the Office of the Dean of Arts at the University of Manitoba helped offset the costs of the illustrations; their generous assistance is gratefully acknowledged here.

² Pliny, *NH* 33.142, referring to an event in 275 BC when one man was criticised by the censors for owning ten pounds weight of silver (see further Strong 1966, 123). Pliny seems also to allude to this general idea in 18.39, when he mentions men who had won triumphs but yet thought possession of ten pounds of silver extravagant. See also Pliny, *NH* 33.153: generals were once forbidden from owning more silver than the two vessels used in sacrifices.

³ For a catalogue of all first century BC/AD pieces then known to the author (total 545) that could potentially have seen use as *argentum pоторium*, see Catalogue 2 in Tamm 2001.

⁴ Two groups of colours tend to be used for the vessels in the paintings: brown-gold-yellow, and white-silver-grey. The groups are easily distinguishable; the former suggests materials such as terracotta, bronze, or gold, the latter, silver or perhaps glass. However, the painters were capable of indicating glass when they so desired, either by showing the contents of the vessel through its walls, or by other indications of transparency. A darker,

almost bluish grey is also observed in some paintings, perhaps indicating pewter or even tarnished silver. See also Baratte 1990, 89, where some of these issues are discussed.

⁵ E.g. Mols/Moormann 1993-1994, 44: 'Soprattutto il vasellame...è una fedele immagine di un *argentum pоторium*', along with the assertion that numerous parallels for the painted vessels can be found in the extant pieces from the Vesuvius region. The painting in question is the representation of a drinking service from the tomb of Vestorius Priscus at Pompeii, here fig. 1.

⁶ Similar studies, with diametrically opposed conclusions, have already been carried out for representations in Roman paintings of glass (Naumann-Steckner 1991), and bronze (Riz 1990) vessels. Naumann-Steckner notes in particular the discrepancies between painted and actual glass vessels; Riz argues that the painted vessels closely match actual examples, and that changes in the forms of actual vessels are mirrored by changes in the forms of painted examples. For a cautious study of metal vessels in a different, earlier, context, that of Etruscan tomb-painting, see Jannot 1995.

⁷ For the text: Spano 1943, 242.

⁸ Spano 1910, 400-3.

⁹ Spano 1943, 247.

¹⁰ Castrén 1975, 120, 274. See also *ibid.*, 61-2: especially when a magistrate dies in office, municipal funds paid funeral expenses (usual sum 2,000 sesterces), and decurions donated land for the tomb - as the inscription states was done for Priscus.

¹¹ Mols/Moormann 1993-1994, 38.

¹² Spano 1943.

¹³ E.g. Dentzer 1962.

¹⁴ See Mols/Moormann 1993-1994, with references. Others have also questioned the standard interpretation: see for instance Kockel 1983, 38 n. 332.

¹⁵ The association of vessel forms with specific Latin (or Greek) terms is fraught with difficulty. Consequently, in this article generic English terms or phrases are preferred, rather than ancient vessel terms. There are, however, some terms (*calathus/kalathos*, *cantharus/kantharos*), for which, in the author's opinion, the connections may reasonably be made; in such cases, after the form has been identified and described, the ancient term will be used.

¹⁶ A number of surviving vessels have a garland or branch as decoration, although these are generally far more complex than what is depicted here. Some examples are the cups with olive branch decoration from the Casa del Menandro (Naples, Museo Nazionale 145513, 145514: Painter 2001, 58-60 cat. M7-M8, Pls. 7-8) and Boscoreale (Paris, Louvre Bj 1915, 1916: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 17-18) treasures, the semiovoid cup from Alesia (St-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités nationales 7564: Baratte/Painter 1989, 29, 66 cat. 9), and a pair of semiovoid cups from Herculaneum (Naples, Museo Nazionale 25378, 25379: *Collezioni MNN* I, 212-3, figs. 52-3).

¹⁷ This combination appears frequently in later banquet scenes; it can also be seen in the hands of attendants at sacrifices. See further Nuber 1972; also Fless 1995, pl. 26.2, for a painting from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, in which a figure holds a saucepan-jug group.

¹⁸ Tiflis: *Comptes rendus* 1908, 182, figs. 239a-b.

¹⁹ Paris, Louvre Bj 1917-1919 & private collection: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 25-6, 97, 105.

²⁰ Slovenské Muzeum: Kraskovská 1959, 135, 139, figs. 59-61, Pl. 1.4.

- 21 Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum RMX 88,08.029, 88,08.034: Baratte 1997, 60, 67, Abb. 1.
- 22 Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 8784: Guzzo 1979, 195-6 no 3, 199 fig. 6, 203, 206-7, tav. LXXc.
- 23 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Mertens/Anderson 1987, 80 cat. 60.
- 24 Naples, Museo Nazionale 144802: Stefanelli 1991, 254 cat. 13.
- 25 Naples, Museo Nazionale 145513 & 145514: Stefanelli 1991, 266 cat. 63-4.
- 26 Naples, Museo Nazionale 25376 & 25377: Stefanelli 1991, 257 cat. 29-30.
- 27 Naples, Museo Nazionale 145515 & 145516: Stefanelli 1991, 266 cat. 65, 66, figs. 122-7.
- 28 See *supra*, n. 16.
- 29 Paris, Louvre Bj 1909 & 1910: Stefanelli 1991, 261 cat. 43, figs. 107, 270, (Bj 1910).
- 30 Ex-New York private (Fleischman 295): La Rocca 1996, 72-95 with plates.
- 31 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Strong 1966, pl. 31B.
- 32 Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 10: Gehrig 1967, 19-20, Farbtafel II.
- 33 Berlin, Antikenmuseum 31061a & 31061b: Künzl 1988, 571 cat. 398.
- 34 Warsaw, Panstwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne 40:586h (PMA/IV/225/25) & 40:586g (PMA/IV/225/24): Wielowiejski 1989, 232-233 cat. 11-12, Taf. 69.1-2.
- 35 Paris, Louvre Bj 1913 & 1914: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 15-16.
- 36 Naples, Museo Nazionale P 7486, P 7487, P 7484, P 7485. For the first three: Franchi dell'Orto/Varone 1990, 197 nos 101, 103, 102 respectively.
- 37 Chalon-sur-Saône, Musée Denon 86.3.15: Baratte/Painter 1989, 65 cat. 8.
- 38 Current location unknown: Baratte 1989, 65-69, fig. 4.
- 39 Zurich, Swiss National Museum 13968: Baratte 1989, 66-67, fig. 6.
- 40 Copenhagen, National Museum dnf 9/20 & 10/20: Stefanelli 1991, 256-7 cat. 26-7.
- 41 Paris, Louvre Bj 2366 & 2367: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 103-4.
- 42 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 60 & 61: Babelon 1916, 88-93 cat. 6-7, pl. IX-X.
- 43 Mols/Moormann 1993-1994, 31.
- 44 Malibu, Getty Museum 75.A1.58: Oliver 1980, 164, figs. 17-8.
- 45 Paris, Louvre Bj 2033: Héron de Villefosse 1899, no 52.
- 46 Paris, Louvre Bj 2031 & 2032: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 52, 54.
- 47 Naples, Museo Nazionale P 7483: Franchi dell'Orto/Varone 1990, 195 no 100.
- 48 Paris, Louvre Bj 2035: Héron de Villefosse 1899, no 55.
- 49 Naples, Museo Nazionale 145538/1, 145538/2: Maiuri 1933, 369 cat. 86-7, Tav. LX.
- 50 Naples, Museo Nazionale (unnumbered): *Collezioni MNN I*, 176-7 no 31, fig. 31.
- 51 Two in London - BM 1912.11-11.13.1, from Syria, and BM 69.6-24.22: von Saldern 1976, 125, with one of them pictured in Taf. 34.1. The suggested date is the second half of the first century AD at the earliest.
- 52 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles C19710 & A2729: Babelon 1916, 81-7 nos 4, 5, pls. V-VIII.
- 53 Künzl 1975, 66-73; Künzl 1984a, 372.
- 54 Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 44: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 63 no 44.
- 55 Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 62: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 75-76 no 62.
- 56 E.g. St. Germain-en-Laye, Musée des antiquités nationales 13 694: Tassinari 1975, 25 no 1, pl. I.1. Also Naples, Museo Nazionale 73478 (late 1st C BC-early 1st C AD): *Collezioni MNN I*, 176-177 cat. 19, fig. 19; and Naples, Museo Nazionale 73437 (from Herculaneum; 1st C AD): *Collezioni MNN I*, 178-179 cat. 47, fig. 47.
- 57 E.g. Pliny, *NH* 33.154-156; Martial 8.6 (so-called original by Mys), 8.34 (Euctus' antique cups).
- 58 Pliny, *NH* 33.145.
- 59 Pliny, *NH* 33.145. Again the size and ostentatiousness of the pieces should not be questioned, even if one may question the precise weights.
- 60 For example, at *NH* 33.142 he mentions the 10,000 pound collection of the tribune Livius Drusus, and at 33.143, the 12,000 pound collection of plate that travelled with Pompeius Paulinus on campaign. Although one may question whether the weight recorded is precise, the underlying idea, that these were substantial collections, should not be in doubt.
- 61 E.g. Martial 5.19, 7.53, 8.71, 10.15, 10.57, 13.48.
- 62 Martial 5.19 (one-half pound), 7.53 (five pounds). Strong 1966, 124-125 apparently takes 7.53 at face value. However, the circumstances and generosity of the donors doubtless varied, and some allowance must be made for this.
- 63 Suetonius, *Dom.* 1.1.
- 64 Pliny, *NH* 33.148, 154-158 contain discussions of the high esteem in which old, Greek, silverwares and their makers were held, and of the high prices paid by the Romans for such pieces. Several of Martial's poems, 4.39 and 8.39 in particular, lead to the conclusion that forgery of such pieces and the attribution of new works to famous old Greek silversmiths was not an unknown phenomenon.
- 65 Various literary sources mention *abaci*, e.g.: Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.61, *Verr.* 2.4.35, 2.4.57; Juv. 3.204; Pliny, *NH* 37.18; Varro, *LL* 9.46.
- 66 For a convenient survey of feasting through the ages, in which some relevant comments are made, see Strong 2002, *passim*. The author would like to thank W.J. Slater for first drawing his attention towards this book.
- 67 Dated by the excavator to ca AD 35-45: Varone 1993, 622-8, tav. CLVII, CLIX.
- 68 Varone 1993, 622-9, tav. CLX.1.
- 69 Pompeii I 3,18 has been suggested as the provenance of this painting, but Varone argues conclusively that this cannot be the case. See Varone 1997, 149.
- 70 Naples, Museo Nazionale 9024: *Collezioni MNN I*, 65 top, 170 cat. 340.
- 71 Two other paintings deserve a mention, although they have had to be omitted from the discussion. The first is the banquet scene from Priscus' tomb. It appears to have included banqueters, attendants, and quantities of both eating and drinking silver. This abundance of elements, in particular the various examples of silverware, is paralleled only by the representation of the drinking service discussed in the first part of this article. Unfortunately, the painting is in very poor condition. No more than a handful of the vessels present can be identified, and even then not with the same degree of confidence as can be done for the selected paintings. The second comes from Pompeii IX 1,22. Some sources, for example *PPM VIII*, 956, name this house as the Casa di Epidius Sabinus. This has occasioned some debate (see the comments in Eschebach 1993, 402; also, *PPM VIII*, 956), to the extent that the name must be considered provisional at best. It repeats the composition of

- CCA-West. However, it survives only in two 19th century drawings, which correspond in many, but not all, details. Some of the discrepancies occur just in the types and quantities drinking vessels present. The traces of the painting visible on an old photograph (PPM VIII, 1002 fig. 78) do not add any relevant information. Varone 1993, 624 n. 37 also refers to a partly legible photograph in T. Warsher, *Codex Topographicus Pompeianus* suppl. III (1943), p. 249, without further details.
- ⁷² Pavia, Civico Museo Archeologico 193: Bruno 1964, 183-96.
- ⁷³ Pallanza, Museo del Paesaggio, from Tombs 3, 7, and 161: Graue 1974, Taf. 2.1, 10.1, 37.4.
- ⁷⁴ Representative is a ca AD 40 bowl in a private collection in Switzerland: Dörig 1975, cat. 413.
- ⁷⁵ Rome, Antiquarium Comunale M.A.I. 494: von Mercklin 1923, 124, Abb. 20.
- ⁷⁶ Such a form appears in a few other banqueting paintings, where it is held comfortably in the palm of a hand.
- ⁷⁷ Paris, Louvre Bj 2018-2026: Héron de Villefosse 1899, nos 75-83.
- ⁷⁸ Naples, Museo Nazionale 25579, 25580: Künzl 1984b, 217, 220, fig. 127; *Collezioni MNN* I, 216 no 70, 217 fig. 70.
- ⁷⁹ Naples, Museo Nazionale 116329-116332: Künzl 1984b, 217 with fig. 129, dates them to the mid 1st century BC; Lessing/Varone 1996, 112-14 (on MN 116332) and Ciarallo/De Carolis 1999, 178 nos 205-206 (on MN 116330 & MN 116332) date them to the 1st century AD.
- ⁸⁰ Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 10: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 44 no 10.
- ⁸¹ Vessels of such form are often found in depictions of Dionysos and/or his followers, in both Roman and Greek art; the term is associated in literary sources of the period with Dionysos or Dionysiac contexts: Pliny, *NH* 33.150, Silius Italicus 7.197, Val. Max. 3.6.6 (another version of the episode mentioned by Pliny), and Vergil, *Ecl.* 6.13. Admittedly, there is no explicit description of the vessels form in any of these references. However, the connexions in art between form and context, and in literature between term and context, make it reasonable to suggest the association of form and term.
- ⁸² Malibu, Getty Museum 75.A1.56: Oliver 1980, 159-161, figs. 10-12.
- ⁸³ Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 63: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 76-78 no 63. The vessel is roughly 52 cm tall, with a diameter of roughly 35 cm, and a weight of some 7.2kg.
- ⁸⁴ Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3779, 13 & 14: Boetzkes/Stein 1997, 46-48 nos 13-14.
- ⁸⁵ A convincing case for the association of form and term was made already in Künzl 1969.
- ⁸⁶ An Augustan or Tiberian cup showing the Apotheosis of Homer (Naples, Museo Nazionale 25301) may serve as a representative example: *Collezioni MNN* I, 210-211 no 35.
- ⁸⁷ No example is yet known to the author of such handles on a kalathos. Some examples of vessels with similar handles, first in silver: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum Derveni B5 (4th century BC): Search, 168-169 cat. 131; Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum Derveni B6 (4th century BC): Search, 168-169 cat. 132; Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 15 (ca 350-25 BC): Search, 181 cat. 156; Komotini, Archaeological Museum 1889 (end 4th century BC): Search, 156 cat. 108; and in bronze: Kavalla Museum A869 (end 4th century BC): Search, 161 cat. 121.
- ⁸⁸ Chemyrev grave; 5th century BC; now lost: Vickers/Gill 1994, 118 with fig. 5.11; fig. 5.12 shows a ceramic version of the shape, again with similar handles. Another 5th century BC ceramic acrocup from Tanagra has handles that project upwards more: Boston, MFA 00.354: Gill 1986, 11, 13 fig. 5. Other similar handles can be found on vessels placed by Strong into the late 4th century BC: Strong 1966, 93-94, pls. 22B, 24A-B.
- ⁸⁹ Some silver examples with very straight, upright walls, that flare gently at the lip: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1948.102-3; both from Dalboki (5th century BC): Gill 1986, 17-19, fig. 26. The form is also present in contemporary ceramics: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B881 (Attic black-glazed cup, 5th century BC): Gill 1986, 19, fig. 29. A taller, later version of the shape, in silver: Sofia, Archaeological Museum 6694 (from Boukyovtzi, 4th century BC): Gill 1986, 19, fig. 30.
- There are also greatly enlarged versions of the shape: Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum Derveni A 48, B 28 (both from Derveni, graves Alpha and Beta respectively; standing 21.5cm and 20 cm tall respectively, both 2nd half of 4th century BC): Search 162-163 cat. 123, 170 cat. 35.
- ⁹⁰ London, British Museum 1900.7-30.3: Walters 1921, 32-33 no 128, pl. XVII.
- ⁹¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Rogers Fund 1920, 20.49.5: Stefanelli 1991, 253 cat. 10.
- ⁹² Naples, Museo Nazionale P 6120: Franchi dell'Orto/Varone 1990, 195 no 99.
- ⁹³ See Oliver 1980, 164, discussing a similar object in the Getty Museum (75.A1.58).
- ⁹⁴ Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 8788: Guzzo 1979, 196 no 7, 202 fig. 10, 204, tav. LXXIIa.
- ⁹⁵ See *supra*, n. 71.
- ⁹⁶ Varone 1989, 231-237.
- ⁹⁷ The author is indebted to G. Umholtz for the observation that this behaviour on the part of the painters in the matter of silverware appears analogous to their behaviour earlier in the matter of architecture, in which elements that seem plausible in isolation prove, on closer examination, to be fanciful. The Second Style (ca 50-40 BC) frescoes from *cubiculum* M of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Ling 1991, 28-29, figs. 27-28), are particularly apt examples of the combination of realistic elements into an unrealistic whole.

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Domus Fulminata

The House of the Thunderbolt at Ostia (III, vii, 3-5)

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Abstract

The unique peristyle building called the *Domus Fulminata*, generally dated between AD 65 and 75, is not a guild seat but a tripartite building with a private, religious, and commercial function. As it is connected with a mausoleum, built c. 30 BC, and belonging in all probability to P. Lucilius Gamala ('senior'), it is very likely that the *Domus Fulminata* was constructed by one of his descendants, P. Lucilius Gamala, duovir in AD 71. The Lucilii Gamalae may have honoured their famous ancestor by holding meetings on the masonry *biclinium* in the peristyle, and by sacrificing at the altar on the base between the couches, in front of the *aedicula*. After the second century the core of the building was provided with marble decorations, just like the luxurious late Roman *domus* of the third and fourth centuries.

In 1941 excavations took place at Ostia, outside the Porta Marina and near to the ancient shoreline, in Regio III. According to the excavation diary, *Domus Fulminata* (III, vii, 3-5), first named *Domus del Biclinio*, was excavated between the 1st May and 29th June (for the original Italian text see Appendix 2). Restorations were carried out in 1970. Apart from some photographs (fig. 1) no records of these interventions are available.²

In his monumental book *Roman Ostia*, Russell Meiggs gives a short impression of this enigmatic building: 'By the Flavian period fashions have decisively changed. No new *atrium* houses are built; their place is taken by what for convenience may be called the peristyle house. The first clear example is a Flavian house on the western *decumanus* outside the Porta Marina. The entrance on the street is flanked by *tabernae*; a passage leads into what was probably a garden, surrounded by a portico carried on brick piers.³ In the garden is a *biclinium*, recalling the open-air dining fashion familiar at Pompeii; the rooms open off the portico.' The building has only been cursorily dealt with in later publications.⁴

The *Domus Fulminata* (fig. 2) raises several questions, concerning among them its building phases and transformations, its function(s), and its possible founder and owners. The latter question is of particular interest as very few owners of houses at Ostia are known. In order to tackle these problems research was carried out by a team from Leiden University from 27 May to 8 June 2003.⁵ Some observations and considerations follow here.

TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The *Domus Fulminata* is located about 50 metres to the south of and outside the Porta Marina, the city's gate closest to the ancient shoreline (fig. 3). The front of the building faces east-south-east; it consists of two rows of three commercial spaces flanking the central entrance. These *tabernae* open onto the pavement along the *decumanus*. To the west, the building is bordered by open space that has not been excavated. To the north, an early Augustan funerary monument (III, vii, 2) is situated. Its foundation walls are at a lower level (0.83 m above sea level) than the *Domus Fulminata* (2.84-3.13 m above sea level).⁶ A structural link does however exist between the walls enclosing the funerary monument and the northern wall of the *Domus Fulminata*. To the south of the building, separated by a *fauces*-like corridor, premises are located that offer a large undivided area (III, vii, 6-7). These rooms suggest a function that would require open spaces, such as a stable and an area for industrial activities. Opposite the building lies the sanctuary of the deity Bona Dea (IV, viii, 3).

The juxtaposition of the *Domus Fulminata* and the sanctuary presents a striking contrast: along the western side of the *decumanus*, the *tabernae* offer wide openings. On the opposite side of the road closed walls safeguard the seclusion of the sanctuary. The sanctuary has no direct access to visitors leaving the city gate. Its only entrance is placed in a more quiet area, east of the *decumanus*, away from the traffic of this major thoroughfare.



Fig. 1. The Domus Fulminata seen from the north (Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Ostia; neg. C 2520).

The gate to the sanctuary, however, is directed towards the Porta Marina, attracting the attention of those leaving the city gate.

The absence of any pavement along the enclosure walls of the sanctuary of Bona Dea adds to the impression of seclusion. On the other side of the *decumanus* a pavement of comfortable width is found, directing the flow of pedestrians over to the commercial front along the *Domus Fulminata*.

The *Domus Fulminata* is situated to the south of an anonymous Mausoleum (III, vii, 2). This monument was probably built around 30-20 BC. Its rectangular base is made of travertine and tufa, the crowning, pseudo-monopteral *tholos*, now almost completely lost, was of marble. The base has a *triclinium* at the front of the central part, flanked by two apsidal recesses with small benches (fig. 4).⁷ Under the benches of the *triclinium*, karyatid-like, diving dolphins are visible. Amongst fragments of marble, located to the north of the tomb are two blocks of Carrara marble, one decorated with the prow (*rostrum*) of a war ship, the other with three swords and a lion's head (fig. 5).⁸ Only small fragments of inscriptions remain, showing the letters: PO (?), I, and E.

The mausoleum is built on the original, lowest level of the city. It lies about 1.49 m below the current floor-level of the *Domus Fulminata* (fig. 6). This leads to the question of when the level outside the Porta Marina and the suburban part of the western *decumanus* was raised. The sanctuary of Bona Dea (IV, viii, 3) which was built at the same level as the *Domus Fulminata* and the western, suburban *decumanus*, might provide some indications to narrow down the dates of this extra-mural development.

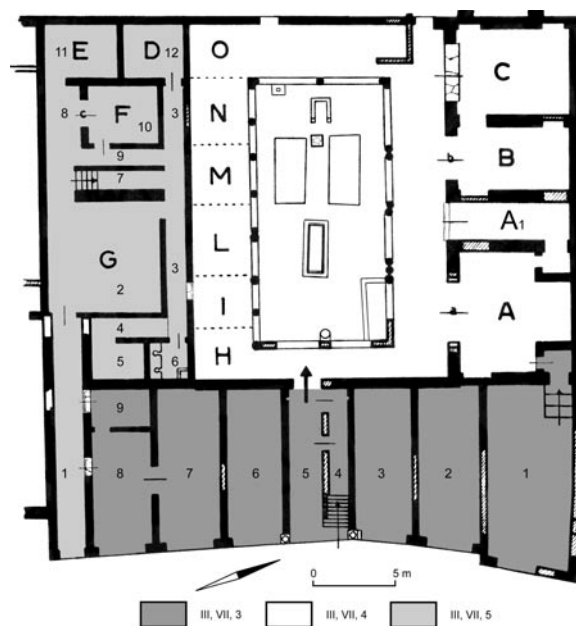


Fig. 2. Map of the Domus Fulminata, from SO IV, with adaptations and additions.



Fig. 3. Map of the Porta Marina area, from: SO I, with adaptations.



Fig. 4. Mausoleum (photo R. Warrink).



Fig. 5. Rostrum (photo R. Warrink).



Fig. 6. North wall of the Domus Fulminata and south part of the Mausoleum (photo R. Warrink).

The sanctuary is built in *opus reticulatum*.⁹ According to five fragmentary inscriptions on marble, 'Marcus Maecilius Furr[anius?], son of Marcus, *duovir*, has the temple of Bona Dea built at his own expense, and he had also approved of the building'.¹⁰ It is not known in which year Maecilius was *duovir*. His *cognomen*, Furranius (?), occurs only at Rome, so his family may have moved from there to Ostia. His *nomen gentilicium* is not mentioned in later inscriptions from Ostia and the family may have lost its high position in Ostia in the Flavian period when a new middle class elite of freedmen emerged.

The Bona Dea sanctuary has been dated by a number of scholars. H.H.J. Brouwer, following Calza, dates it to the early Julian-Claudian period.¹¹ C. Pavolini suggests a date around the end of Tiberius' reign, around AD 37.¹² I. Gismondi dates it to between AD 40 and 50.¹³ F. Zevi does not exclude a date around AD 50 or later.¹⁴ The *Fasti Ostienses* do not mention Maecilius, but he may have been mentioned on (partly) lost fragments referring to the years 35, 38, and 39-53 AD. What is certain is that the *Domus Fulminata* was built after the sanctuary of Bona Dea. This may be inferred from the fact that the extended *decumanus* curves along the bent, convex, original west wall of the Sanctuary. As a result, the façade of the *Domus Fulminata*, opposite the Sanctuary, has a slightly concave form.

LAYOUT

Apart from the curved façade, the building has an almost square layout (c. 31.48 x 32.47 m). At first glance the plan gives the impression of a rather axial-symmetrical arrangement (fig. 2). The *fauces* (5) are in line with the main east-west axis,¹⁵ giving access to the peristyle. Both to the north and to the south of the *fauces* are three *tabernae*, shops or workshops (1-3, and 6-8/9). To the north of the peristyle, henceforth called the north wing, is a series of four interconnected rooms of different sizes (A, A1, B, C). The building has a second entrance at the street side, to the south of *taberna* 8. From there a long corridor (1) leads to the rooms in the south wing of the building (2-12), in the centre of which is a staircase with steps of tiles (7). To the north there is a second corridor (3), parallel to the south wall, which separates the south wing and the peristyle. This wall first had an opening in the west (near the letter N), which was closed and then, probably soon after the completion of the south wing, a door opening further to the east was made (near the letter I). The position of the pivot

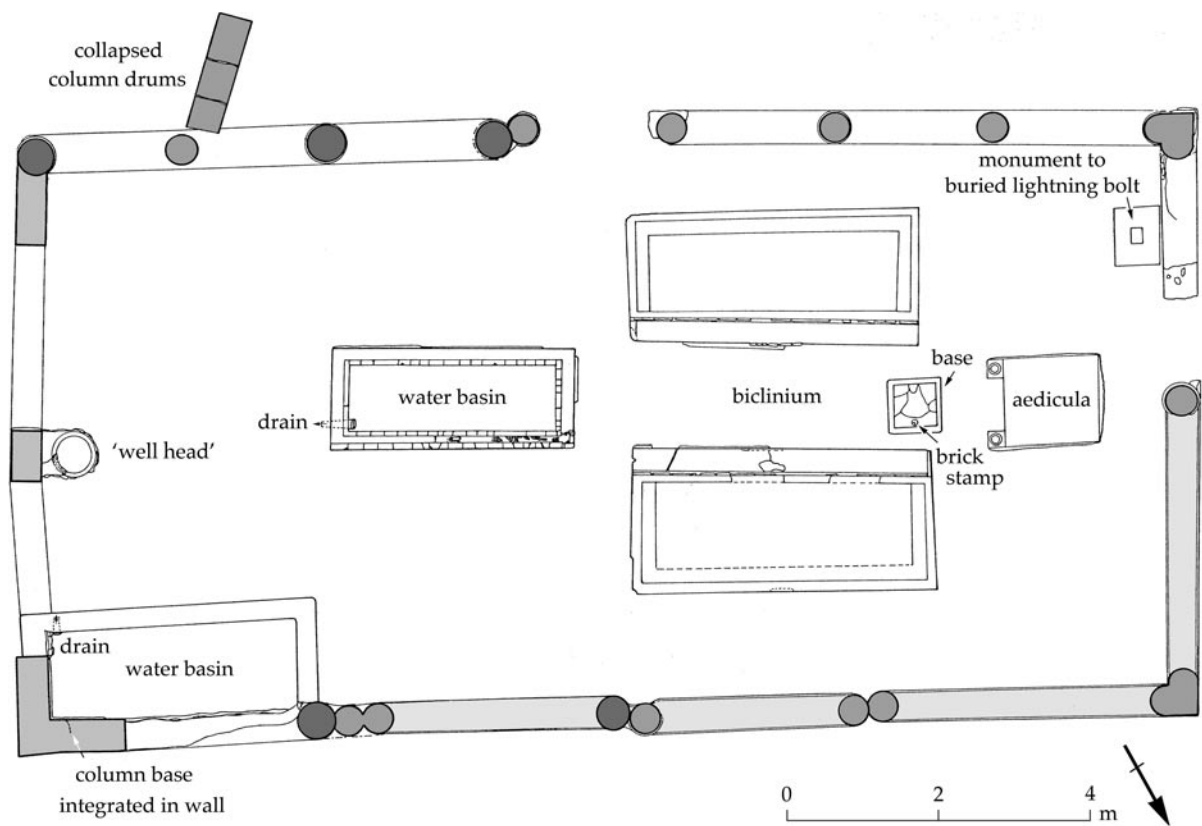


Fig. 7. Map of the peristyle (H. Stöger and M. Bajema).

holes in the travertine threshold shows that the door could only be closed from the north corridor in the south wing. This implies that the inhabitants of the south wing controlled the activities in the peristyle. In other words, the peristyle and adjacent rooms were used on special occasions. The rooms (A-C) are all interconnected and their high ceilings (at least 4.70 m high) make it very unlikely that they were used as private living space. They have to be considered as reception- and service rooms.

THE COLONNADED COURTYARD - BETWEEN TRADITION AND FUNCTION

The inner courtyard is the central feature of the *Domus Fulminata* (figs. 7-8). This characteristic marks it as the first clear example of a 'peristyle house' in Ostia. Within the colonnaded peristyle, elements pertaining to the Hellenistic-Roman *domus*, namely the *atrium* and the *peristylum* are fused.¹⁶ Spatial constraints may have limited a more pronounced independent development of these features. Notwithstanding this, the location outside the Porta Marina certainly contributed to

longer preserving the special character of the *Domus Fulminata*, described as being half-way between urban *domus* and suburban villa.¹⁷

The important role of the peristyle is primarily expressed by the space it covers in proportion to the total area of the *domus*. According to Vitruvius the 'regal' feel of the noble house lies in the amplitude of the proportions of its public spaces.¹⁸ In the case of the *Domus Fulminata* the inner courtyard of the building covers twice the area of the adjacent interconnected rooms to the northwest.

The structural remains constituting the peristyle and its architectural features do not allow straightforward interpretation. At first glance we are presented with an open courtyard surrounded by rows of walled columns and pillars that presumably carried a portico. During its time of occupation the *Domus Fulminata* underwent several phases of adaptation and transformation. The columns and pillars appear to be randomly distributed in single, double and triple groupings. At central points of intersection, where columns join as groups of two, the columns meet at rather peculiar angles. The layout points towards a divided



Fig. 8. The peristyle
(photo J.Th. Bakker, from the late 1980s).



Fig. 9. Central water basin; detail
(photo N.L.C. Stevens).



Fig. 10a. Mosaic on central water basin
(photo N.L.C. Stevens).

peristyle composed of an eastern and a western section. These parts appear to be attached to each other without calibrating the actual points of connection. The question arises whether this visible division is deliberate and can be related to the different functions the two distinct parts fulfilled, or whether it is merely a result of the various transformations the peristyle underwent in the course of its occupation.

Any assessment of structural changes is limited and often only excavation can confirm or disprove what otherwise remains hypothetical. Nevertheless some interesting observations can be made from the existing structures comprising the peristyle. As a starting point the columns should receive closer investigation.

It is interesting to note that there is a difference in dimension between the columns present in the eastern and those in the western parts of the peristyle. Four columns in the eastern part have a diameter of 0.54 m, while the columns in the western part have a diameter of 0.45 m. Moreover, the columns of 0.54 m are placed at significant positions, possibly leading back to the very first building phase of the peristyle. If one were to follow this trail, the first peristyle would have consisted of 12 columns placed at intervals of about 4.0 metres: one column at every corner, three columns placed on the long east-west sides, and one at the centre of each of the short north-south sides.

Various changes over time led to several transformations of the peristyle. Some of these alterations appear to be connected with the water facilities which the *Domus Fulminata* gradually obtained. The earliest peristyle was therefore still more closely linked to the collection of rain water, hence fulfilling the role of an *atrium*. The rectangular



Fig. 10b. The same, detail
(photo R. Warrink).

water basin, placed in the centre of the eastern part of the peristyle, possibly substituted for an *impluvium* (fig. 9-10). The water basin is generally dated to c. 50-100 AD.¹⁹

The basin might still have served to collect rain-water to a limited degree, however, later water was probably supplied by the public water pipes.²⁰ A piece of a *fistula* dated to the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD was discovered during excavation under the entrance (see below). Various other functions of the peristyle and its features need to be seen in the light of improved water facilities. In this context the utility of the cylindrical marble wellhead (fig. 11) placed on a massive tufa plinth next to the entrance of the peristyle diminished. In the second century the wellhead lost its original function and was transformed into a decorative feature that symbolized the traditional house.²¹

The latest alteration that took place in the peristyle was also related to water facilities. This was the installation of a second water basin placed in the north-east corner of the peristyle (fig. 11). In addition several columns were either transformed into or replaced by walled pillars. This transformation affected mainly the western part of the peristyle. The proportion between voids and masses changed and a closed atmosphere was created. At the same time the eastern part of the peristyle still retained its columns and its open atmosphere. Worthy of note is the concentration of all water-related constructions in the eastern section of the peristyle. Practical considerations seem to have favoured a concentration of all utility lines within a rather limited area. Water supply pipes and discharge facilities therefore extend over as little space as necessary, a practice still valid in modern architecture.

ENTRANCE

The wide, central entrance is divided into two parts. Parallel to the *fauces* (5) is a staircase (4). The seven lower steps are of travertine (fig. 12). The worked travertine threshold clearly provides for two separate entrances with a raised edge marking the division between the distinct parts. Pivot holes and bar-holes show that wooden doors could close each part of the entrance individually (fig. 13).

The space between the threshold and the stairs allows just enough room to fully open the *valvae* of a wooden door. The stretch of threshold in front of the stairs is heavily worn, leaving no traces of the bolt sockets and only parts of the



Fig. 11. North-east water basin and wellhead (photo author).



Fig. 12. The entrance, fauces and staircase (photo author).

raised outer edge that would normally stop the door leaves when the door was closed. Judging from wear and tear, substantially more activity must have taken place on the upper floor than in the rooms and spaces reached from the courtyard.

Despite the formal bipartition of the entrance, internal communication between ground floor and upper floor still existed. Although the division was clearly expressed to the visitors from the outside, a direct link assured informal 'sideways' communication between the floors. The wall that supports the travertine stairs does not extend to the bottom of the stairs. Instead, an open space is left that makes the last two steps easily accessible from the corridor and vice versa.

What appears to be a clearly divided entrance that allows access to certain parts and excludes other parts of the building proves to be far more permissive than the formal separation would suggest. The entrance arrangement allows informal flow of movement without limiting its direction. At the same time, the clear bipartite division of the entrance controls all formal movement that involves visitors from outside. The entrance arrangement of



Fig. 13. Southern part of entrance threshold (photo author).



Fig. 14. Iron sword (photo author).

the *Domus Fulminata* seems to be well suited for a so-called dual-purpose screen-building,²² built to protect the inner structure from the noise and bustle of the decumanus and allow the rental of *tabernae* and apartments.

The shopkeepers of the *tabernae* 6, 7 and 8/9 must have cooperated as their shops were originally interconnected. The keeper of shop 8/9 could close the two doorways to the entrance of the south wing from the inside of the taberna as is indicated by the position of the pivot holes in the travertine thresholds. The shopkeepers may, therefore, have lived on the first floor, above their shops, thus not in the south wing.

Construction probably began in the west part of the building. Firstly, a 54 cm long iron sword (fig. 14), which was found in the centre of the back wall (see Appendix 2) may have been a building sacrifice. Secondly, the oldest brick stamps have

been found in the peristyle (see below, CHRONOLOGY and Appendix 1). A third indication are the building joints which make clear that the *tabernae* were built after the peristyle. The walls have been built from the rear to the front, from the west to the east. The massive north wall has a thickness of 1.32 at the west side, narrowing to 0.95 m. at the east. The *tabernae* have been added in the final stage, just like the streetside staircase with its partition wall. Likewise, the entrance to the peristyle has been narrowed by an additional wall. The latter opening had no doors as the threshold of square terracotta tiles does not have pivot holes.

The walls of the building show a rather homogeneous picture of orange-red and yellow bricks, often of triangular form; some walls have rectangular stretches of *opus reticulatum* in tufa (fig. 19).

CHRONOLOGY

J.E. Packer calls the peristyle and north wing (III, vii, 4) the *Domus Fulminata*, dating this section, like scholars before him, to between AD 65 and 75. He names the frontal row of *tabernae* including the upper floor(s) (III, vii, 3) *Caseggiato accanto alla Domus Fulminata*, dating it to the Hadrianic period. He terms the south wing (III, vii, 5) *Casa vicino alla Domus Fulminata*, dating this part also to the Hadrianic period.²³ This would imply that the core of the complex (peristyle and north wing) stood alone between c. AD 75 and 117 which seems to be extremely unlikely. In fact, Packer quotes Calza (SO I, 236) and Becatti (SO IV, 104-109), who do not give arguments for a Hadrianic date. Becatti (SO IV, 104; nr. 4) mentions a brick stamp from around AD 150. But this refers to only one of the many repairs or additions in the *tabernae* 1-3. Here the whole complex of III, vii, 3, 4 and 5 is referred to as the *Domus Fulminata*.

There is disagreement among authors concerning the exact date of the building. Inscriptions play an important role in reconstructing the building phases. Some brick stamps found in the peristyle date from the Neronian period, and one from the reign of Vespasian. They are dealt with in Appendix 1. They indicate that the earliest possible date would be AD 69, at the beginning of Vespasian's reign.²⁴ Some additional building activities or restorations must have taken place around AD 150.

A further inscription incised on a marble slab found on the upper side of the 'tumulus' in the south-western corner of the inner courtyard of the peristyle (fig. 15) could also give an indication of chronology. The 'tumulus' is a small tomb (*bidental*)



Fig. 15. FDC-tumulus (photo N.L.C. Stevens).



Fig. 16. The inscription FDC (photo N.L.C. Stevens).

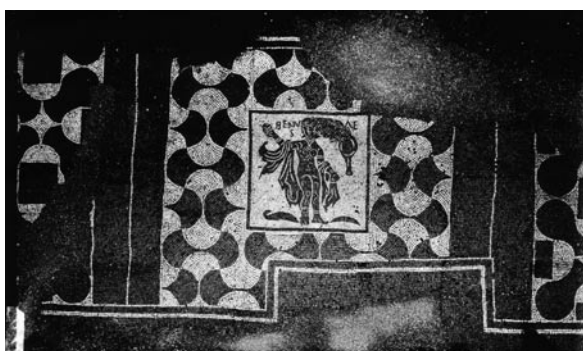


Fig. 17. Mosaic showing Benus (Archivio Fotografico Sopr. Ostia; neg. B 1009).

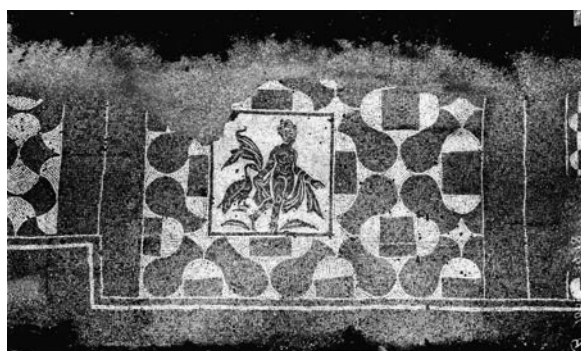


Fig. 18. Mosaic showing Leda (?) and the swan (Archivio Fotografico Sopr. Ostia; neg. B 1008).

in which it is said a divine thunderbolt was buried. The inscription on top of the rectangular, now heavily restored tomb reads: *FDC* (fig. 16). It is carved on a marble plaque of 0.21 x 0.21 m.²⁵ It has to be read from the inside of the peristyle. The height of the letters is 8 cm. The abbreviation should be read as: *fulgur dium conditum*: 'here is buried a divine thunderbolt'. The structure has not been dated. It seems, however, likely that the building already existed before the thunderbolt struck. According to Calza and Nash the gifts buried in the tomb to allay the divine wrath were fragments of vessels, terracotta statuettes, and lamps, objects that fit best in a domestic context.²⁶ The items could have been related to the *aedicula* in the inner court near the tomb.²⁷ The excavation report, however, mentions three or four fragments of terracotta tiles, various fragments of glass, a handle of an amphora, an unrecognisable bronze artefact and a part of a *cocciopesto* pavement (see Appendix 2).²⁸ The finds point to a domestic context but could also fit into a ritual context. Roman custom required that objects struck by a thunder-

bolt had to be ritually buried.²⁹ The *Fasti Ostienses* only once mention a thunderbolt at Ostia and one at Rome. In AD 91 a thunderbolt struck a tree in [*fundo?*] *Volusiano* (on the [estate?] of Volusius) at Ostia. It was buried ritually by *aedilicii*, assistants of the *pontifex Volcani*.³⁰ The form of the letters may point to the first century AD.³¹ The event, however, cannot be related to the *Domus Fulminata*. Firstly, the inscription would have read: *domo* or *in villa* or *insula Volusiana*. Secondly, it is improbable that a tree, higher than the building, would have stood in the corner of the peristyle.³²

Further evidence providing dates comes from a *fistula* (lead water pipe), found under the street in front of the *Domus Fulminata*. This pipe had a side-branch under the entrance of the *Domus Fulminata*. The inscription on it reads: *SEXTILIVS SECVNDVS FECIT* (Sextilius Secundus made this/it/me). The *fistula* is dated to the second century AD.³³ It may have been connected with the Hadrianic cistern (IV, viii, 2) outside the Porta Marina.³⁴ This could indicate that the building originally did not have a regular water supply.

The *fistula* led the water under the *fauces* to the centre of the building. Only one outlet can be seen in the very small water basin, probably a sponge-holder, in the northeast corner of the latrine (south wing, room 6). Nothing further is known about Sextilius Secundus. Judging by the absence of a *praenomen* he was a *plumbarius*, owner of the workshop that produced the conduit.³⁵ After c. AD 130 many *fistula* inscriptions mention *tria nomina* referring to *domini aquarum*, often members of the *ordo senatorius* (at Rome!) who owned buildings or financed *fistulae* of bath buildings at Ostia.³⁶

A further inscription is rendered in mosaic, still *in situ*. The mosaics, now covered by a protective layer, have been laid down in three successive periods.³⁷ The polychrome mosaic on the border of the water basin, just in front of the *biclinium*, has parallels at Pompeii and may, therefore, date from the initial phase of the building. Some black and white geometric mosaics in room A, B, and C in the north wing belong to the same period.³⁸ The small corridor between A and B (A1) has no mosaics. The rooms D, E, F and G in the south wing were decorated with black and white geometrical floor mosaics around AD 150.³⁹ The south corridor in the peristyle (letters H-O) has black and white mosaics from the first half of the third century AD, most probably around AD 250.⁴⁰ They display geometric patterns. Mosaic I shows a frontally-rendered, semi-nude Venus, holding possibly an apple in her raised right hand (fig. 17), and framed by a border of black *tessellae*. To the left of Venus' head we read BENV/S (Venus). To the right of Venus is a hand mirror above which two letters are visible: AE.⁴¹ The second part of the inscription is destroyed. Only the letters AE are visible. The white *tessellae* surrounding the letters suggest that there may have been a letter with a round shape preceding AE, possibly a D. The meaning of the damaged word(s) or abbreviation remains unclear. If there was no D, maybe AE has to be read as AE(s), bronze object, referring to the mirror. Roman mirrors are usually made of bronze. The mosaic is prominently situated, in front of the doorway to the south wing. Similar mosaics with Venus can be found in the Caupona of Alexander (IV, vii, 4) near the Porta Marina, in front of the rear doorway, and in Tomb 75 of the Isola Sacra necropolis.⁴² Both *comparanda* are without inscription. As no other Roman mosaic showing Venus standing alone has an inscription, the text here has to emphasize the identity of the love goddess. Mosaic L shows, in a panel too, a fleeing semi-nude woman followed by a bird, probably

Leda and the swan (fig. 18).⁴³ Both panels, made by the same mosaic worker, allude to love. A fresco of unknown date which was described as being present in the southeast corner of the south corridor (see Appendix 2) showed a ship with a white sail and a man tied to the mast, probably Odysseus passing the Sirens.⁴⁴ This theme too can be related to the sphere of seduction. The fresco had a 'celestial' blue green background. This also holds true for the fresco found in room A showing a complicated cross pattern with Erotes in *tondi* (figs. 19-20).⁴⁵ Both frescoes may date from the first phase of the building.

Finally, a further inscription is found on the white marble base of the *cipollino* column on the north side of the main entrance. It reads: QCC, written in irregular letters (fig. 21). The marble base in the *Domus Fulminata* was probably inscribed in an Ostian marble workshop. Q could mean *quinque*, C *centum*, hundred, but the theoretical numerical order QCC is unparalleled. We discovered two more clearly inscribed marble bases of columns at Ostia, both in the Caesareum of the Caserma dei Vigili (II, v, 1). Both inscriptions read P D E, here with spaced letters, and they are placed upside down, not facing the viewer, which means that the inscriptions were carved in a workshop, and not on the spot. The columns were placed in the Caesareum during a restoration in AD 207. Both QCC and P D E may refer to the *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium* and *cognomen* of owners or artisans in marble workshops. It seems that the two bases and two columns at the entrance have been placed there in a later building period or more probably during or after the excavation. Originally the walls of the *fauces* had piers on travertine blocks (see below).

FUNCTION

Calza and Nash, followed by Bakker, suggested that the *Domus Fulminata* (III, vii, 4) may have been a guild seat (*schola*).⁴⁶ It could have housed a guild of Bona Dea (*Bonadienses*) whose sanctuary is at the other side of the *decumanus*. This is suggested by the presence of a (garden) *biclinium*, and the interconnected rooms A-C, which could not have been suitable for private use. Both Hermansen and Bollmann do not accept the hypothesis as there are no parallels for this unique combination.⁴⁷ The plan has nothing in common with other *scholae*. However it has to be taken into consideration that Ostian *scholae* mainly date to the second and third centuries AD. Bollmann observes that the *Domus Fulminata* has no main room and no cult niche or



Fig. 19. Fresco in room A
(Archivio Fotografico Sopr. Ostia; neg. B 3028).

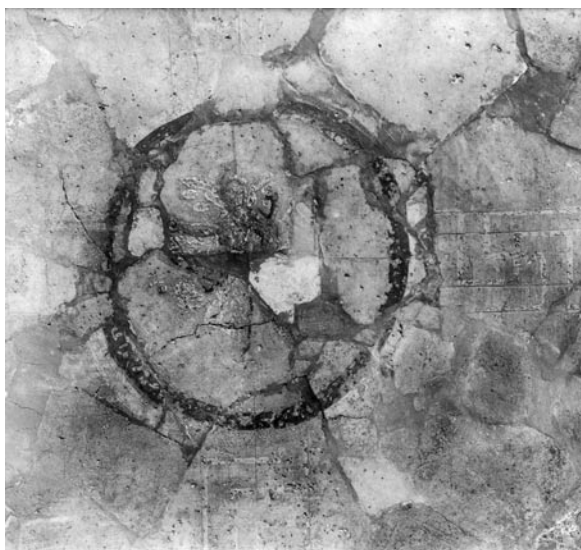


Fig. 20a. Fresco from room A, detail
(Archivio Fotografico Sopr. Ostia; neg. C 915).

podium. The altar and *aedicula* would not be a good substitute for the latter spaces. Room C, with an alcove, would be a *cubiculum*. In short, according to Bollmann the *Domus Fulminata* seems to be better suited to serve as a private building. She does not realize, however, that room C has two integrated niches in its western wall. In fact, most plans indicate only one niche. Judging by the very high ceiling and the presence of two niches, where statuettes could have been placed, room C appears to be well suited for cultic purposes. A similar example of interconnected rooms is visible in the *Casggiato dei Lottatori* at Ostia (V, iii, 1), which Bollmann interprets as a guild house of wrestlers.⁴⁸ This second century AD *atrium* house has an axial *tablinum* with openings to street side *tabernae*. In the *Domus Fulminata* there is no *tablinum* behind the peristyle but a good substitute is the large room A, which is connected with *taberna* 1. Bollmann's arguments are not, therefore, completely convincing. Moreover, guild seats are rare in the first century AD. They do not have a fixed, standardized form. They may have a courtyard with *porticus* but further details vary.⁴⁹ In addition, the most important guild seats of Ostia are situated along the *decumanus*. Finally, when looking into public and private buildings, one expects that some indications concerning the nature of the building might be provided from the presence or absence of a latrine with multiple seats. However, multiple seats do not only occur in guild seats⁵⁰ but also in apartment buildings.⁵¹ Thus the presence of the

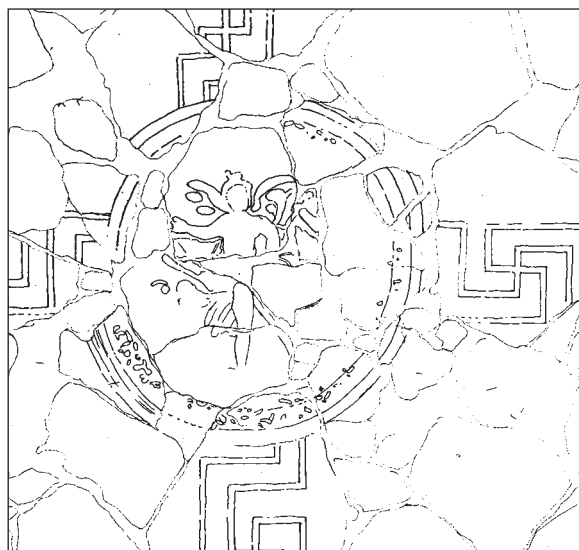


Fig. 20b. the same; drawing, detail
(Archivio Fotografico Sopr. Ostia).



Fig. 21. Marble base and column (photo author).

heavily restored, three-seat latrine in the south wing does not clarify the function of the building.

A building similar to the *Domus Fulminata* has been found neither at Rome (as far as can be judged from the *Forma Urbis*) nor at Pompeii nor Herculaneum. The core of the question is: what was the meaning of the *biclinium* with its altar, *aedicula* and water basin? Houses in Pompeii have masonry *triclinia* and far less frequently masonry *biclinia*,⁵² but only situated in the garden, peristyle or *viridarium*, thus in the rear part of a house or near a bar: often in a corner, and rarely on the main axis of the peristyle.⁵³ Many *triclinia* are directly flanked by columns at the four corners of the rectangular space to sustain a *pergola*, which is not the case in the *Domus Fulminata*. At the rear side of a *bi-* or *triclinium* there may be an *aedicula* with the function of a *nymphaeum*, but rarely a niche with a *lararium* function.⁵⁴ Nowhere at Pompeii can a free-standing *aedicula* behind and an altar between couches be found.

This comparison makes it clear that the architect did not simply 'transfer' a usual, external peristyle plan to the core of the building, which formerly would have been called the *atrium* of a *domus*. It has often been suggested that courtyard buildings (with columns or pillars) in Ostia substituted the old *atrium*-peristyle houses as there was a lack of space.⁵⁵ The unique combination of a masonry *biclinium*, without a *pergola*, but with an altar, a free standing *aedicula* (fig. 22) and water basin suggests that the couches might have been used for religious meetings. As *biclinia* are also present in front of *cassone*- and *cella*-tombs in the Isola Sacra necropolis near Portus,⁵⁶ we may not rule out that a funerary rite or ancestor cult was being practiced. An essential difference is that *biclinia* elsewhere have low couches, whereas the



Fig. 22. Part of the peristyle (photo author).

Domus Fulminata biclinium has high ones (c. 66 cm). The *aedicula* shows a floor-niche, which is exceptional. The cult was literally down to earth!

THE POSSIBLE FOUNDER AND OWNERS

In contrast to the situation at Pompeii, the owners or inhabitants of extremely few buildings at Ostia are known. It is, therefore, worthwhile to investigate whether the topographical context can shed light upon the possible proprietor(s) of the *Domus Fulminata*. The building is located adjacent to and is structurally linked with an anonymous mausoleum (III, vii, 2) from c. 30-20 BC., which lies c. 1.30 m below the floor level of the *Domus Fulminata*.⁵⁷ Outside the Porta Marina, at a greater distance and therefore probably slightly more recent, is a second mausoleum (IV, ix, 2), which belonged to C. Cartilius Poplicola, who was several times *duovir*. From the data mentioned in his epitaph and other inscriptions, we may conclude that he died around 23/20 BC.⁵⁸ Both mausolea share some measurements and show the combined use of travertine and marble. This combination is also present in the Theatre built by Agrippa between 18 and 12 BC.⁵⁹ Both tombs have an enclosing wall, evidently to earmark them as public memorials.⁶⁰ Just like Cartilius, the deceased of the anonymous mausoleum had to have had a connection with a naval war as is shown by the presence of a marble *rostrum*. The sculptured dolphins on the mausoleum *triclinium* are less easy to interpret: they may refer to the sea and/or Venus, or they may be associated with the imagery of death or may simply be decorative.⁶¹ Apart from C. Cartilius Poplicola, the only other famous *Ostiensis* around 30 BC was Publius Lucilius Gamala, who gave Ostia money for a *bellum navale* (CIL

XIV, 375).⁶² The tomb may have belonged to him, as the marble *rostrum* mentioned suggests a naval war, the most recent and most likely one being the war against Sextus Pompeius Magnus in 38-36 BC.⁶³ There is no hard proof that the two marble *rostrum* blocks originally belonged to the Cartilius tomb as was suggested by Floriani Squarciapino.⁶⁴ P. Lucilius Gamala was successively *aedum sacrum Volkani aedilis* and *Volkani pontifex* (the highest function at Ostia!),⁶⁵ he was *duovir* with censorial power, offered a meal to the *Ostienses* on 217 *triclina*,⁶⁶ restored the temple of Volcanus, built temples for Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and slightly later, one for Spes.⁶⁷ On his death he was honoured with a *funus publicum*, a public funeral.

Though most of the aristocratic families at Ostia lost their power in the Flavian period, the Lucilii Gamalae remained powerful, even in the second century AD (cf. *CIL* XIV, 376, between AD 161-180).⁶⁸ They are never mentioned in *alba* of *collegia* or *corpora*. Those Lucilii who are mentioned in other inscriptions were officials and/or priests, with connections in Rome.⁶⁹ The *Fasti Ostienses* even mention a P. Luci[lius Ga]mala f(ilius) from the Flavian period who was *duovir* in AD 71,⁷⁰ exactly the period that the *Domus Fulminata* was built! As the building and the mausoleum area are linked, Publius may have been the founder of the *Domus Fulminata*. The date is in accordance with the *terminus post quem* AD 69, afforded by a brick stamp (see Appendix 1). The iron sword buried in the western rear wall, obviously referring to a martial deed or the status of the owner or ancestor (see Appendix 2),⁷¹ may further strengthen this hypothesis (see Appendix 2). A small marble Venus statuette was found (figs. 23a-b) and mosaics from the first half of the third century AD in the south corridor (I and L) of the peristyle show *Benvis* (Venus) on one side, and probably Leda and the swan on the other. The statuette may originate from one of the two niches in room C. In principle, the other niche may have contained a statuette of Mars or Vulcanus. The latter option is attractive as will be explained later on.

The u-formed enclosing wall of the mausoleum starts at the original ground level. This implies that the whole tomb could be seen from above, from the *decumanus*. On top of the walled structure that connects the northern wall of the *Domus Fulminata* with the enclosure wall of the mausoleum (figs. 24-25) the floor level has partly survived. It displays black and white mosaic floors with geometric motifs (fig. 26)⁷² which betray a similarity to mosaics in the south corridor of the *Domus Fulminata*'s peristyle. This congruence may also



Fig. 23a-b. Statuette of Venus, front and back (photos author).



Fig. 24. Vault between the *Domus Fulminata* and the Mausoleum enclosure, seen from the east (photo author).



Fig. 25. Vault between the *Domus Fulminata* and the Mausoleum enclosure, seen from the west (photo author).



Fig. 26. Mosaic on the vault between the Domus Fulminata and the Mausoleum enclosure (photo author).

indicate that the owner of the building was in control of the mausoleum area. The Lucilii Gamalae may have used the *biclinium*, altar, *aedicula*, in order to honour their famous ancestor of c. 30 BC. As mentioned, masonry *biclinia* are sometimes present in front of tombs.

This hypothesis does not exclude that the *biclinium* may have been used for other occasions in the course of three centuries. Many fragments of the *Fasti Ostienses* have been found near the Porta

Marina, and on and near the Forum of Porta Marina (fig. 27).⁷³ The Forum dates from the Hadrianic period.⁷⁴ If the *Fasti* fragments originated from the, hitherto unidentified Volcanus temple, the *Volkani pontifex* and his officials must have had a seat for meetings.⁷⁵ According to Vitruvius, Vulcanus' temple had to be *extra muros*.⁷⁶ A location just outside the Porta Marina, therefore, is not excluded. The axial building with an apse at the rear of the Porta Marina Forum may have been a temple, as there is an altar-like structure in front of it.⁷⁷ As at least two members of the Lucilii Gamalae (CIL XIV, 375 and 376)⁷⁸ were *Volkani aedilis*, *pontifex* or *praetor*, we may not rule out that the peristyle with the north wing of the *Domus Fulminata* was used for meetings of a religious college. The staff of a *pontifex* was small: three *praetores sacris Volcani faciundis*, and at least two but probably three *aediles*.⁷⁹ Furthermore, an inscription mentions that A. Egrius Paternus was *flamen divi Vespasiani sacris Volcani faciundis*.⁸⁰ *Aedilicii* who buried thunderbolts may be identical to *aediles*, or have been their assistants.⁸¹ The last epigraphically testified *Volkani pontifex* dates from the period of Diocletian.⁸² A college composed of about eight persons, never referred to, however, as a *collegium* or *corpus*, could easily have been accommodated on the two couches (length: c. 4 m, width: c. 2 m) in the peristyle. These have space for 2 x 6 people at most. The building opposite the *Domus Fulminata* is the only

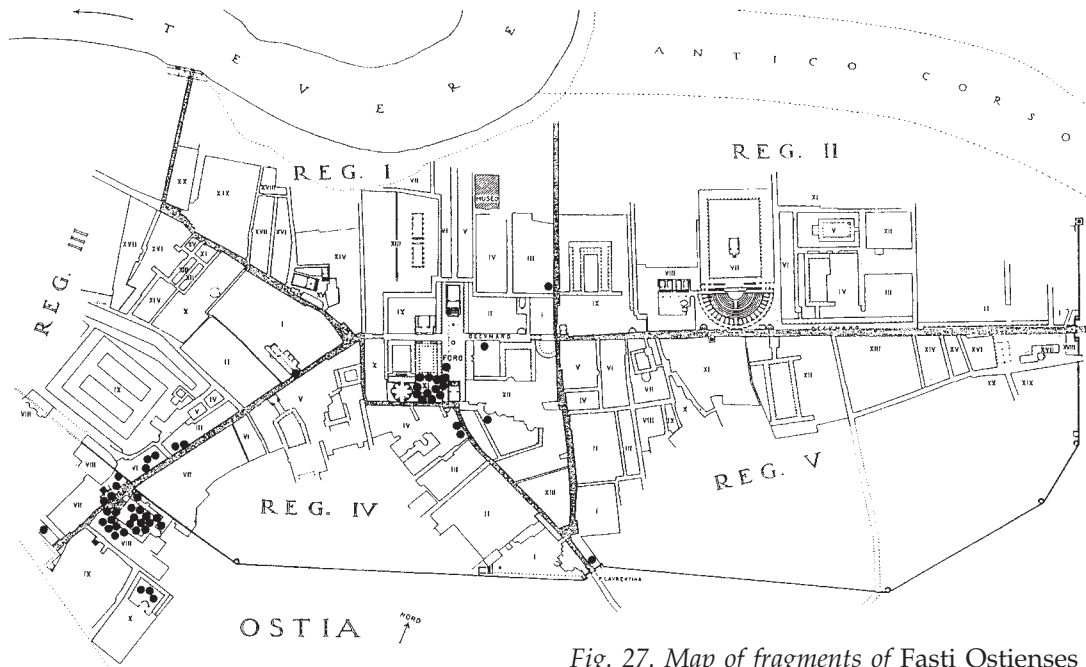


Fig. 27. Map of fragments of *Fasti Ostienses* found near the Porta Marina (from Bargagli/Grosso 1997).



Fig. 28. North part of the peristyle (photo author).



Fig. 29. Western entrance and coloured marbles (photo author).



Fig. 30. Northern fauces' wall with remains of a pier (photo author).

extra-mural Bona Dea sanctuary in the ancient world. As the Vulcanus' temple was also *extra muros*, there may have been a link between both temples. Bona Dea is sometimes identified with Maia.⁸³ The latter was *uxor Volcani*.⁸⁴

TRANSFORMATIONS

After the Antonine period inscriptions do not mention other Lucilii Gamalae. In the third century AD, probably around AD 250 when *opus vittatum* was used for the first time, the peristyle underwent transformations. A second water basin was built in the north-east corner, walls between the piers and columns in the peristyle were added (fig. 28), some door openings in the north wing were closed, and coloured marble slabs were attached to an L-formed wall structure near the rear doorway of the building (fig. 29).⁸⁵ This opening was provided with a now heavily fragmented, restored, white marble threshold without pivot holes. Marble thresholds inserted between travertine blocks were also placed in rooms A and C. Most of the

latter elements are also visible in the late Roman *domus*. The two bar counters dressed with white marble slabs in the *tabernae* 3 and 6 may also date from the third century (fig. 12).⁸⁶ In spite of the facelift the building mainly kept its original appearance to the end. This conservatism is also visible in the *Domus del Giove fulminatore*, which was also struck by a thunderbolt.⁸⁷

ENTRANCE ARRANGEMENT: LATE IMPERIAL OR MODERN FACELIFT?

Two slender, unfluted columns of grey-green veined *cipollino* marble flank the entrance to the *Domus Fulminata*. The columns bring to mind other entrance arrangements characteristic of the late Roman *domus* (cf. *Domus del Protiro* and *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria*). This analogy suggests that the columns were part of the late imperial embellishment programme that the *domus* had undergone. The late imperial context might have prompted authors to describe the entrance as *prothyra*.⁸⁸ This description, however, does not reflect the situation. These col-

umns are neither freestanding nor would their position have allowed them to support an independent pediment or architrave.

The columns are clearly placed on travertine blocks, inside the entrance at either end of the travertine threshold, where the sidewalls of the corridor intersect with the threshold. The columns are partially engaged by means of a few courses of crude brickwork at their bases. Their shafts are freestanding; though it is difficult to determine the original relationship between the columns and the corridor walls, as large parts of the brick facing are missing.

The entrance is 3.70 m wide. An arched lintel or a full arch, typical for outside entrances elsewhere in Ostia, would have best spanned this considerable width. The remaining corridor walls are only extant to a height of about 2 metres, allowing no conclusions to be drawn regarding the height of the ceilings and whether or not a vaulted ceiling covered the central corridor. The columns' suitability to prop load-bearing architectural structures to support the upper floor seems compromised by the need for an arch to span the extensive opening.

The entrance lacks parallels in other Ostian buildings. In other cases, mentioned above, the 'prothyra' are late imperial additions attached to the façade without affecting the structural integrity of the entrance. When one tries to integrate the two marble columns of the *Domus Fulminata* into a fully functional entrance arrangement, it is difficult to understand how they could have fulfilled a supporting role within the façade.

One can rule out that the columns were part of the original entrance arrangement with great certainty. A few traces still betray the original masonry jambs of the entrance. Some projecting courses of masonry along the travertine block indicate where the northern corridor wall was reinforced to suffice as a door-jamb (fig. 30).

Similar walled jambs are very frequent in external entrances in Ostia.

As it has proved difficult to interpret the columns within their current context, one might ask whether they are in the right place at all. They are visible on a photograph from February 1942, made seven months after the excavation (Soprintendenza Ostia, negative B. n. 3031 inv. 5520). It is worth noting that the field notes written by the excavation team do not record that any marble columns were encountered during excavation. Nevertheless the entire front of the *Domus Fulminata* along the *decumanus* is lined with random fragments of marble columns of different types

and styles of unknown provenance.

The column riddle could take on another dimension if detailed records of post-excavation interventions and restoration work were available. Unfortunately, the absence of detailed records of the history of excavation and interventions during the period 1938 until 1942 renders a closer investigation very difficult.

CONCLUSION

The suburban area outside of Porta Marina, near the ancient seashore, was not a cemetery. However, it is the location of two prestigious mausolea, one of C. Cartilius Poplicola, and one of an anonymous VIP, both dated to the Augustan period. The fact that both tombs have an enclosure wall means that they were intended as public memorials, even when the ground level was raised (c. 2 m) later on. Connected with the anonymous mausoleum is the peristyle building *Domus Fulminata* (III, vii, 3-5), built in the early years of Vespasian's reign. In all probability the mausoleum belonged to P. Lucilius Gamala ('senior') who died around 30 BC. According to epigraphic evidence he provided money for a naval war. The marble *rostrum* found near the mausoleum may attest his generosity. One of his descendants, P. Lucilius Gamala, *duovir* in AD 71, may have built *Domus Fulminata* in order to honour his famous ancestor. The peristyle with its *biclinium*, free-standing *aedicula*, altar and water basin(s) obviously had a religious function. A similar structure cannot be found in Pompeii. The courtyard may have been used for memorial festivities in honour of the famous ancestor. The *aedicula* with its unique low niche may also point to an ancestral cult. As some Lucilii Gamalae were priests of Vulcanus and as one temple of Vulcanus was *extra muros*, it cannot be discounted that the peristyle was also used by the *Volkani pontifex* and his small staff. As this college was not a *corpus* or *collegium*, *Domus Fulminata* was not a guild seat. The inhabitants of the south wing of the building had control over the courtyard and its (c. 4.70 m high) service-rooms. The *tabernae* on the street side had a commercial function. Though the core of the building was furnished with marble elements after the second century, just like the late Roman *domus* in Ostia, the building kept its original appearance to the end, due to religious conservatism, probably also due to the presence of a buried, divine thunderbolt. A similar conservatism is visible in the *Domus di Giove Fulminatore* (IV, iv, 3). The two columns of *cipollino* do not belong to the original main entrance of *Domus Fulminata*.

Of fundamental importance are the brick stamps found in the *Domus Fulminata*. In the peristyle the numbers 655; CIL X, 2, 8042, 5; 351; 925; 1535 and an unidentified stamp were discovered, in the debris stamp numbers 1137; S 433; S 465-b, and 617.⁸⁹

Peristyle

655

OPVS VESIANV[M]
L · IVLI · LESBI

(Vesianic work. Of Lucius Iulius Lesbius). *Opus* means *opus doliare*, the brick product. Bloch suggests that Vesianus is a *cognomen*.⁹⁰ The stamp, however, has elements in common with 654: OPVS. TONNEIANV/EX. VESIA. L. IVLI. LESBI. *Ex.vesia.* means *ex figlinis vesianis* (from the Vesianic clay-digging site and/or place of manufacture).⁹¹ The latter stamp has been found in the Colosseum. Lucius Iulius Lesbius, mentioned in both inscriptions, probably was the *officinator* (manufacturer) of the workshop. He may be a freedman originally coming from Lesbos. The brick stamp can be dated to the early years of Vespasian's reign. This date has consequences for the absolute chronology of the first phase of the *Domus Fulminata*: other brick stamps are dated between circa AD 55 and 65. It is logical now to fix the *terminus post quem* for the start of the building to AD 69 at the earliest. The bricks that were made earlier than this date could have been stored first and used a couple of years later.

Identical to CIL X, 2, 8042, 5

I
A S T
C

Ac....Ti. s(ervus). The inscription is placed in a circle, the A, C and S are written upside down. A parallel was found in Pompeii. The type is similar to S 465-b (see below). Therefore the stamp can be dated to the time of Nero.

351

ROSCI · ROSCIANI
DE · NAR

Rosci Rosciani de (*figlinis*) Nar(niensibus) (Of Roscius Roscianus, from the *figlinae* at Narnia). The Narnia region had good clay. Roscius Roscianus is the *dominus* (owner) of the estate. Like 617 (see below) it can be dated to the middle of the second century AD.⁹²

925

TI · CLAGA

Ti. Cla(udi) Aga(...) (in the excavation diary: TICLAG)

(Of Tiberius Claudius Aga[...]) The inscription is placed in a rectangle. Tiberius Claudius Aga(thus?), a freedman, is probably the *officinator*. The date is unknown.

1535

VOCONI

(Of Voconius). The inscription is placed in a rectangle. The stamp is of unknown date.

No number (1)

C D M

Meaning and date are unclear.

Identical to CIL XV, 958a

Stamp on the altar base

EX PRAEDIS CUSINI MESSIAN(I)

(From the estate of Cusinus Messianus). Dated around AD 123.⁹³

Debris

1137

FAENI · RVFI ·

(Of Faenius Rufus). The inscription is placed in a round stamp. Lucius Faenius Rufus, a *dominus*, was *praefectus annonae* under Nero, from AD 55 to 62, and *praefectus praetorio* from AD 62 until his execution in 65. This stamp can be used as the *terminus ante quem non*: AD 55. Stamps with the same name are present at Pompeii.⁹⁴

S 433

NEC·AV

Neroniani Caesaris Augusti (?)

The inscription on the oblong stamp of which the meaning is not clear, was found together with 1137 and S 465-b and can be dated after AD 55 in view of the datable brick stamp 1137, just mentioned.

S 465-b

P...LI
C

On the basis of better preserved *comparanda* P...LI refers to the name of a slave. The meaning of the letter C, that occurs eight times in the centre on a similar stamp, remains unclear.⁹⁵ As with the previous stamp S 433, the date can be determined in view of the datable brick stamp 1137 that was found together with this one. The origin of the

stamps is Ostia or the region of Rome.⁹⁶ Due to the prosperous brick export under Nero we can find similar brick stamps - with the name of a slave placed around a central letter - in Campania.

617

EX PR LVCILLAE VERI FIGVLINIS
TERENTIAN OPV L.S.F

Ex pr(aedis) Lucillae Veri, figulinis Terentian(is), opu(s) L. S(ervili?) F(ortunati?) (From the estate of Lucilla, wife of Verus, from the Terentian workshop, work of Lucius Servilius Fortunatus).⁹⁷ Lucilla Veri is the mother of Marcus Aurelius. This name was used by Domitia P.f. Lucilla Minor from AD 145-155.

APPENDIX 2

Giornale di scavo, vol. 27 (1938-1942) (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia)

2.V.41 (in the margin: Porta Marina (*Domus Fulminata*))

L'edificio sotto scavo si dimostra una casa con peristilio di colonne laterizie anche abbinata e anche a tre con vari ambienti su tre lati. Il centro del cortile-giardino è occupato da un triclinio⁹⁸ in muratura e da una vasca rettangolare il cui bordo superiore conserva resti di rivestimento a mosaico celeste chiaro. Fra il triclinio è un basamento quadrangolare laterizio presso cui fu rinvenuto l'ara marmorea a festoni che probabilmente lo sormontava. Le stanze sono pavimentate a mosaico bianco-nero. In quella sull'angolo NE si raccolgono vari pezzi di lastre concave di serpentino, pare decorazione della volta (*fig. 31*)⁹⁹ e resti di intonaco dipinto celeste chiaro. Dalla parete del portico all'angolo SE fu staccato nello stesso fondo celeste raffigurante una nave con vela bianca e pare che la figura fosse Ulisse legato all'albero. Nello scavo del cortile a colonne laterizie si rinvennero i seguenti bolli

A
C S I (in a circle; A, C and S written upside down)
T

C.D.M. (in an ellipse)

TICLAG (925) (in a rectangle)

Voconi (*CIL* 1535) (in a rectangle)

OPVS. VESIANVS (VE are written as a ligature)
L. IVLI.LESBI (*CIL* 655; età di Vespasiano)

DE.NAR

ROSCI.ROSCIANI (*CIL* 351; metà II sec. D.C.)

La casa pare della muratura di epoca flavia.

26.V.41

Nell'abbassare la strada dinanzi alla Casa del Biclinio si trova un pezzo della tubatura di piombo che si diramava sotto l'ingresso della casa stessa. Ha la marca

SEXTILIVS.SECVNDVS.FECIT

17.VI.41

Nel cortile della Casa del Biclinio all'angolo esiste un parallelepipedo in muratura rivestita di intonaco con la faccia superiore obliqua sulla quale è inserita una lastrina marmorea con le lettere F.D.C. forse 'fulgur dium conditum'.¹⁰⁰ Rovesciato questo blocco di muratura si è trovato al disotto fra la terra tre o quattro frammenti di tegole fittili, vari frammenti di vetri, un manico d'anfora, un medio bronzo irrecognoscibile, un pezzo di pavimento di cocciopesto.

29.VI.41

Nel ripulire il muro di fondo O del peristilio nella Casa del Biclinio si trova murata nel centro e disposta in senso orizzontale una corta spada di ferro con impugnatura cilindrica con più solchi paralleli, guardia a grosso disco e lama dritta a sezione quadrangolare. Misura m. 0,55 di lunghezza, diam. dell'impugnatura 0,025, della guardia 0,05 (inv. 4617).



*Fig. 31. Serpentine basin (now in room C)
(photo N.L.C. Stevens).*

APPENDIX 3

Data from the Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Archeologica per i Beni Archeologici di Ostia:

- 1 Painting from room A (fig. 19):
Foto S3 n. 3028 inv. 5517 (gennaio 1942).
Pittura a fondo celeste con tondi con eroti (ora al Museo; Sala XI,2) (I sec. D.C.). N.inv. 10104. (the painting is now in the Retromuseo at Ostia Antica).
- 2 Inv. 5536 (fig. 32)
Alt. M. 0,085; diam. Mass. M. 0,08; alla bocca m. 0,063.
Argilla rossa.
Vasetto fittile a pareti sottili a forma sferoidale con ampia imboccatura a bordo verticale. Unica ansa a nastro impostata sul bordo e sulla pancia. Il corpo è esternamente coperto di un colore bruno sino a cm. 1,5 dal piede. Su questa tinta più scura è dipinta una decorazione in bianco, costituita da semplici volute che, partendo dal manico terminano con un riccio dell'altra parte di esso. Sul lato del vaso opposto al manico i racemi formano una specie di occhio. Un giro di puntini sottolinea il motivo sul limite della fascia scura. Rinvenuta il 1-V,1941 sul Decumano nel cortile con triclinio?¹⁰¹
(Mag. Sala VIII Vetro X centro , rip. VI. Dis. 1-19. Inv. 02856-02865).
- 3 Mag. Vet. IV,2 (Inv. 4617; old inv.: 436; CNR-R.59; fig. 14)
Lung. 54; diam. impugnatura 0.025; della guardia 0.025.
Spada in ferro con lama a sezione quadrata e impugnatura cilindrica con più solchi paralleli separata dalla lama da una guardia a grosso disco spesso cm. 2.
8/VII/1941.102 Casa del biclinio - era murata nel muro di fondo del peristilio disposta orizzontalmente.



Fig. 32. Vase found in the Domus Fulminata (drawing Erick van Driel).

- 4 Inv. 373 (Sc. St. 307) 30.IV.1941. Decumano. Domus Fulminata.
Alt. cm. 16,5. Marmo Greco.
Parte superiore di statuetta acefala nuda (fig. 23a-b).
Con braccia abbassate lungo il corpo proteso in avanti. Sulla nuca resti di riccioli. Forse è la statuetta di Venere o Ninfa con parte inferiore del corpo drappeggiato e che reggeva nelle mani abbassate una vasca o una conchiglia. (No. 300, 499, ecc....).

NOTES

- 1 Natalie Stevens dealt with the inscriptions, Hanna Stöger with a part of the topographical context, the courtyard and entrance, and L. Bouke van der Meer with the remaining aspects.
- 2 Modern brick stamps with the inscription MARIANI date from that year.
- 3 Most of them are in fact columns.
- 4 Meiggs 1973(2), 253. The *Domus Fulminata* is partially dealt with or quoted in: Packer 1971, 6-7, 11, 71, 171-2; SO I, 121, 222, 234, 236; Calza-Nash 1959, 22-23, fig. 26; SO IV, 104-109; Hermansen 1981, 86-87, 154-157; Pavolini 1983, 166-168; Boersma 1985, 156, 263, 268, 469 nr. 18, 473 nr. 15; Pavolini 1986, 141, 168-170; Chevallier 1986, 88-89; Bakker 1994, 47, 52, 105-107, 109, 173, 185, 222-223 nrs. 42-44; Mannucci (ed.) 1995, pls. 58-59; Ricciardi/Scrinari 1996, 110-111; Bollmann 1998, 440-441; Gros 2001, 122; Jansen 2002, 176 n. 221. *AJA* 46 (1942) 431 fig. 3 shows the peristyle just after the excavation.
- 5 Team members were Mark Bajema, Marlous Craane, Marco Penders, Gijs Sterk, Natalie L.C. Stevens, MA, Hanna Stöger, MA, Ivar Svensson, dr L. Bouke van der Meer, and Rutger Warrink. Elise Bikker did preliminary research. Many thanks are due to dr Anna Gallina Zevi, Soprintendente of Ostia Antica, dr A. Pellegrino, dr E.J. Shepherd, E. Angeloni, G. Rossigno, M.G. Cesarini, P. Olivanti, and Franco Fubelli whose efficient assistance was unforgettable.
Further, I had inspiring discussions with my *sodalis Ostiensis*, dr Jan Theo Bakker.
- 6 See Mannucci 1995, pl. 49.
- 7 The apsidal recesses are also referred to as *exedrae* or *scholae*.
- 8 The superior block has been found at the crossroads of the *decumanus* and the Via Epagathiana (SO III, 179, 194), the inferior block *in situ*.
- 9 *Opus reticulatum* is present in the rear wall, high in the centre of the north wall, in the *tabernae* 1-3, 6-7, and in the east wall of room 2 in the south wing. It is also in the secondary wall in the doorway between A and A1 in the south wing.
- 10 Brouwer 1989, 63-67 (nrs. 55-59).
- 11 Brouwer 1989, 63-7, 407; G. Calza, *NSc* 1942, 152-165.
- 12 Pavolini 1983, 177.
- 13 SO III, 169.
- 14 Zevi 1968, 87. In a recent article L. Sole distinguishes four main level rises in Ostia city: the earliest in the Republican period, the second in the Claudian period, the third under Domitian, and the fourth until the present day level in the Severan period (Sole 2002, 158-159). See further Cèbeillac/Zevi 2000, 26 and several articles on level rises in *MededRom* 58 (1999) 63-97.

- 15 The exact orientation is west-north-west/east-south-east.
- 16 Pavolini 1986, 168.
- 17 Pavolini 1986, 168.
- 18 Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 6.5.2. Wallace Hadrill 1994, 13.
- 19 Ricciardi/Scrinari 1996, 109; Becatti 1961, 105.
- 20 Until now no traces of water pipes have been found in or near the basin; however, similar water basins elsewhere in Ostia provide suitable *comparanda* (Ricciardi/Scrinari 1996, 109).
- 21 Ricciardi/Scrinari 1996, 111.
- 22 Packer 1971, 6-7.
- 23 Packer 1971, 171-172.
- 24 The altar decorated with garlands and bucrania is now lost. It dates from c. 80-50 BC according to H. von Hesberg (RM 88 (1981) 216-217, pl. 76,2). He now does not exclude a date between c. 30 and 15 BC (e-mail d.d. 20-5-2004). The altar base dates from around AD 123 (see Appendix 1).
- 25 Inv. 19862. AE 1946, 188; 1947, 13. We do not know how the 'tumulus' originally looked. *Bidental* do not have a fixed form (it may be a *tumulus*, pit, *puteal*, *sarcophagus* etc.).
- 26 Calza/Nash 1959, 22 'Sotto la piccola lapide marmorea al momento della scoperta furono ritrovati frammenti di vasellame, di statuette fittili e di lucerne, diligentemente raccolti e seppelliti...'; Bakker 1994, 107, cat. no. A 43, 223.
- 27 Calza/Nash 1959, 22; Bakker 1994, 107.
- 28 *Giornale di scavo* (Sopr. di Ostia), vol. 27 (1938-1942) 17.VI.41.
- 29 For the *procuratio fulguritorum* (by an *haruspex*) see Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 606-609.
- 30 Vidman 1957, 16: XII d. 91: [—]ar[.]s. In [fundo?] / Volusianó arb[os ful-] / mine icta; conditum per aediculios. [...]. (On the estate?) of Volusianus a tree was struck by a thunderbolt; it was buried by the *aediculii*. Zevi 1997, 29 (ad Fa d.). The *Fasti Ostienses* mention another thunderbolt in AD 153, but this incident took place in Rome (Bargagli/Grosso 1997, 50, 51 (ad Qb; '...fulmini ictum...')).
- 31 Cf. Paasch Almar 1990, 26: the difference is best visible in the C and the F. The letters FDC seem closer to the Augustan than to the Trajanic alphabet. Similar letters are visible on the *Salus Caesaris* Augusti base in front of the Porta Romana in Ostia, probably dating from the Claudian period (see Cébeillac/Zevi 2000, 18-19).
- 32 For other inscriptions mentioning thunderbolts at Ostia see Meiggs 1973, 338. Pietrangeli 1949-1951, 39, 41. As for the *Casa di Giove Fulminatore* (a Republican *atrium* house) see Bollmann 1998, 447-448 (B 10) with bibliography; S. Lorenzatti, *BdA* 49-50 (1998) 79-98. It is striking that this house also kept in essence its old form until late antiquity.
- 33 *Giornale di scavo*, Sopr. Arch. di Ostia, vol. 27 (1938-1942), 26.V.41; G. Barbieri, *NSc* 1953, 175 nr. 44; 188 fig. 6. Ricciardi/Scrinari 1996, 109. The length of the *fistula*: 0.57 m; diameter outside: 0.065 m; diameter inside: 0.042 m. Length of the inscription: 19.9 cm (photo Sopr. Ostia, neg. R 3637/12). According to prof. Roberta Geremia Nucci the *fistula* may date from the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD (personal communication).
- 34 Jansen 2002, 149. The 'Sullan' wall may have been used as an aqueduct.
- 35 According to prof. Christer Bruun (personal communication).
- 36 See R. Geremia Nucci, *Da un riesame delle fistulae ostiensi: dati prosopografici e storia urbana*, *MededRom* 58 (1999) 36-37. See further W. Eck, *Die fistulae aquariae der Stadt Rom. Zum Einfluss des sozialen Status auf administratives Handeln*, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I, Rome 1982, 197-225 and G. de Kleijn-Eijkelstam, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome*, Amsterdam 2001. Sextilii are further known from brick stamps of the Flavian period at Rome and Ostia, e.g. *CIL* XIV,2, 4573.
- 37 *SO* IV, 104-109.
- 38 *SO* IV, nrs. 192, 193, 195, 196, 197. No. 194 in room C would date from c. AD 150.
- 39 *SO* IV, nrs. 198-201.
- 40 *SO* IV, nrs. 202-207.
- 41 *SO* IV, 108, no. 203, Tav. CXII where another letter, S, is suggested below the two letters. The S is not in fact visible. The mosaic is not mentioned in *LIMC*. The shift from v to b (*Venus* > *Benus*) is visible in other Ostian third century AD inscriptions, e.g.: *gorgoni bita*; *inbidiosos*; *inbide calco te*. For examples at Isola Sacra see Baldassarre 1996, 138-139, 179-180. The famous *Bia Flabia* inscription is now dated in the second half of the second century AD (*ibidem* 180).
- 42 *SO* IV, 108, 351; Tav. CXII, 391; CXIII, tomba 75.
- 43 *SO* IV, 108, no. 204, tav. CXIII. Not mentioned in *LIMC*.
- 44 The fresco seems to be lost. The theme also occurs on a mosaic of c. AD 125 in the Terme del Mitra (*SO* IV, 32, no. 56, tav. CVI).
- 45 Photo nr. 3028, inv. 5517 (now 10104) shows the situation in room A in January 1942. Similar motifs and colours are present in Fourth Style paintings in Pompeii, for example in the *Casa degli Amorini dorati* (VI 16,7).
- 46 Calza 1965, 136; Calza-Nash 1959, 23; Bakker 1994, 105-106.
- 47 Hermansen 1881, 86; Bollmann 1998, 440-441 (B6).
- 48 Bollmann 1998, 331-335, Abb. 3, Taf. 3,1. The guild is not, however, mentioned in inscriptions.
- 49 Bollmann 1998, 58-77, 163-164. As for further criticism see the reviews in *JRA* 13 (2000) 493-497 (K. Christ); *AnzAW* 46 (2000) 42-47 (W.J. Slates); *Gnomon* 75 (2003) 572-575 (V. Kockel).
- 50 For example a five-seat latrine in the guild seat *Schola del Traiano*. For a picture see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, Taf. 18.1.
- 51 Bakker 1994, 107 uses the number of seats as an argument for a guild seat. See, however, Jansen 2002, 154-157, 176 n. 221 listing latrines for two or more persons in private houses and apartments.
- 52 Jashemski 1950, 10 mentions 52 masonry *triclinia* and 6 masonry *biclinia*. There were more, that are lost. *Biclinia* are still visible in I ii,10; I ii,20; I xiii,16; II iii,2; V ii,g; V iii,11. See Jashemski 1950, 22, 24, 58, 78, 79, 82, 112, 115.
- 53 E.g.: I 13,2; III 2,1; V 2,1.
- 54 Masonry couches with *lararium* niche: I 12,15; I ii,20 (side niche); I 13,2 (axial niche in rear wall with Minerva statuette).
- 55 Chevallier 1986, 88. Gros 2001, 122 has a rather ambiguous statement: 'La disparation de l'*atrium* est en effet remarquable en ce qu'elle ne relève pas seulement d'un manque d'espace, mais suppose un mode d'emploi de la maison qui n'est plus celui de l'ancienne *domus*; le péristyle n'est cependant pas central puisqu'aucune pièce ne se développe derrière son portique postérieur. L'ensemble conservait des prétentions au confort et même, dans une certaine mesure, à la représentation sociale, puisque deux lits de table en maçonnerie (*biclinium*) et une vasque recouverte d'une mosaïque polychrome occupaient la partie découverte du péristyle ...'

- Gros does not pay attention to the altar and the *aedicula*.
- ⁵⁶ Baldassarre *et alii* 1996, 40 fig.12, 61 fig. 20, 71 fig. 25, 82 fig. 31, 96 fig. 40, 104 fig. 45; Kockel 1983, 21, 40, 109, 110-111, 116; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 298, Taf. 12.1.
- ⁵⁷ For the type of tomb see Kockel 1983, 21 n. 178; M. Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms*, Mainz 1986; H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten*, Darmstadt 1992, 136-137.
- ⁵⁸ SO III, 188 (c. 25 BC); S. Panciera, *AC* 18 (1966) 50-64: 25-0 BC; Cébeillac/Zevi 2000, 16: 20-15 BC, followed by Sole 2002, 172.
- ⁵⁹ *AE* 1999, 409; A. Cool, *BSR* 67 (1999) 173-182 (possibly 18-17 BC).
- ⁶⁰ For a similar seaside, suburban funerary monument/memorial of M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, that dates from the Augustan period, see U. Pappalardo, *RM* 104 (1997) 417-433.
- ⁶¹ Kampen 1981, 47.
- ⁶² For an analysis of the *curriculum vitae* of the P. Lucilius Gamala 'senior' see Zevi 1973, 555-581; D'Arms 2000, 192-200; Cébeillac/Zevi 2000, 12-15. Most observations made by G. Wesch-Klein, *Funus publicum. Eine Studie zur öffentlichen Beisetzung und Gewährung von Ehrengräbern in Rom und den Provinzen*, Stuttgart 1983, 128-130 have been superseded by more recent studies. The oldest Gamala known (between c. 85 - 44 BC) is the husband of Octavia M.f. who financed the portico, benches and roofed kitchen in Bona Dea's intra-mural sanctuary (V, x, 2): Cébeillac 1973; Brouwer 1989, 69, 426. Gamala is a Semitic name (see H. Solin, in *ANWR* II, 29.2 (1983) 636, 638, 729, 736). This *cognomen* occurs also in Liguria (*CIL* IX 1491).
- ⁶³ First suggested by Zevi in 1974, followed by D'Arms 2000, 45 (without reference to the *rostrum*). If P. Lucilius Gamala supported Octavian, the *bellum navale* may refer to the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.
- ⁶⁴ SO III,1, 179, 194. The similarity between the marble *rostrum*, with decorated swords, and the *rostra* with undecorated swords of ships in the frieze of the Cartilius tomb is superficial. That the Cartilius tomb was a socle to carry a *rostrum* as a kind of trophy is possible, but the same holds good for the side wings of the anonymous mausoleum.
- ⁶⁵ Note that Lucilius Gamala had a higher position than Cartilius Poplicola. This fact also explains why the anonymous mausoleum is nearer to the Porta Marina than Poplicola's one.
- ⁶⁶ For this activity which imitates Caesar's feasts, see D'Arms 2000.
- ⁶⁷ F. Coarelli, *DialA* 7 (1989) 42, following J. Carcopino, presumes that Publius Lucilius Gamala lived in the (predecessor of the) House of Apuleius (II, viii, 5), just behind the Quattro Tempietti (the Temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes). The Lucilii Gamalae would have owned that building until around AD 150 AD when an Apuleius or, less likely, the famous author Apuleius, got the house. There is no hard proof, however, that the Lucilii Gamalae owned the house before c. AD 150. Moreover, the identification of the Four Temples has been questioned by D'Arms 2000, 199.
- ⁶⁸ Meiggs 1973, 495-6, 511; *AE* 2000, 263. In AD 19, 33 and 71, several Publii Lucilii Gamalae were *duoviri* (in 19 one for the second time). They may have successively been grandson, great-grandson, or great-great-grandson of P. Lucilius Gamala 'senior'.
- ⁶⁹ As for the inscriptions see Meiggs 1973, 558-559, nrs. 1-4.
- ⁷⁰ Bargagli/Grosso 1997, 28 (ad 71), 31: fragm. Ebcd. In earlier publications the years AD 69 and 72 were suggested, see Meiggs 1973, 517; 584 (quoting F. Zevi's opinion given during a congress). Cébeillac/Zevi 2000, 24: 'entre 69 et 71'.
- ⁷¹ Later Lucilii Gamalae had military functions, see *AE* 1959, 254 (*tribunus militum*) and *AE* 1948, 26 (*praefectus Caesaris*).
- ⁷² Not mentioned in SO IV.
- ⁷³ Bargagli 1997, 16 (map).
- ⁷⁴ Pavolini 1983, 178-179.
- ⁷⁵ Vidman 1957, 147-148, following Calza and Zevi, suggests that the *Fasti* fragments found near the Porta Marina came from the Volcanus temple. Bargagli/Grosso 1997, 11-13, following Zevi (!), state that these fragments have been reused, rejecting Vidman's hypothesis that the fragments have a relationship with the Forum of Porta Marina. Nevertheless the two epicentres of fragments are the Forum in the centre of the city and the Forum of Porta Marina (see Bargagli/Grosso 1997, 16 (map)). No inscription occurs twice. An inscription found near the Synagogue (outside the Porta Marina) reads: *Volcano sacrum* (*AE* 1986, 114). Another inscription found near the theatre mentions *aedem Volcano faciendam* (*AE* 1986, 115). For this reason Pellegrino 1986 presumes that the temple in Piazzale delle Corporazioni, behind the Theatre, built around AD 100, was dedicated to Volcanus. He is followed by F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio*, Roma 1997, 224 who uses topographical arguments. In any case, Ostia, like Rome, may have had an intra- and an extra-mural Volcanus temple or Volcanal.
- ⁷⁶ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 1.7.13-21 (citing the (Etruscan) *disciplinarum scriptura* of *haruspices*); Plut., *Mor.* 276b.
- ⁷⁷ Pavolini 1983, 179; Vidman 1957, 148. Contra: F. Zevi, *AC* 46 (1994) 407-410.
- ⁷⁸ Meiggs 1973, 558 presents both inscriptions.
- ⁷⁹ Meiggs 1973, 177-178. The functions were honorary. Even a child of five year could be *praetor*, cf. *AE* 1986, 112.
- ⁸⁰ *CIL* XIV, 4641; *AE* 1986, 113.
- ⁸¹ Cf. Meiggs 1973, 338. The *sacerdotes Volcani* do not constitute a *corpus* as is suggested by Hermansen 1981, 59.
- ⁸² *AE* 1968, 81.
- ⁸³ Macr., *Sat.* 1.12.20-29.
- ⁸⁴ Gellius N.A. 13.23.2. Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.18.
- ⁸⁵ Three types of coloured marble have been used: *pavonazzetto*, *breccia corollina* and *Hymettos* marble.
- ⁸⁶ Hermansen 1981, 157, nrs. 20 and 21, fig. 90 (without date).
- ⁸⁷ Pavolini 1983, 190.
- ⁸⁸ Pavolini 1986, 168; Chevalier 1986, 89.
- ⁸⁹ *Giornale di scavo*, Sopr. Arch. di Ostia, vol. 27 (1938-1942), 2.V.41. See also: H. Bloch in Calza 1953, 222. The numbers correspond to *CIL* XV, 1; the numbers preceded by S refer to Bloch 1967.
- ⁹⁰ Bloch 1967, 76.
- ⁹¹ In *CIL* XV,1, 1495 Vesia is mentioned too: A.L.Vesia.MRI (perhaps meaning A.L. Vesianorum Mari()).
- ⁹² *Giornale di scavo*, Sopr. Arch. di Ostia, vol. 27 (1938-1942), 2.V.41. As for the terms *figlinae*, *dominus*, *offinator* see T. Helen, *Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Centuries AD*, Helsinki 1975; P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman Brickstamps of the Empire*, Helsinki 1977.
- ⁹³ Our thanks are due to prof. dr. Vania di Stefano (Viterbo) and dr. Giorgio Filippi (Musei Vaticani) who identified the stamp.
- ⁹⁴ *CIL* XV, 1137; *NSc* 1910, 263.
- ⁹⁵ Bloch 1967, 93.

- ⁹⁶ Bloch 1967, 93.
⁹⁷ The completion of the abbreviation L.S.F. is proposed on the basis of CIL XV,1, 292 (c. AD 123-138 AD.) which has also been found in Ostia.
⁹⁸ It is in fact a *biclinium*.
⁹⁹ The fragments were found in room A. They are now applied (as a concave basin) to the east wall of room C. They belonged to a large concave water basin, maybe used as a monumental aquamanile during sacrifices.
¹⁰⁰ Inv. 19862 (addition by F. Zevi).
¹⁰¹ By *cortile con triclinio* not the Casa dei Triclini is intended but the Casa del Biclinio = the *Domus Fulminata*; the Casa dei Triclini was excavated around 1920.
¹⁰² Probably 8.VI.1941, see Appendix 2.

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Reconstructing the Garden Houses at Ostia

Exploring Water Supply and Building Height

Saskia Stevens

Abstract

The Garden Houses in Ostia are a large-scale apartment complex built during the reign of Hadrian. The complex is most famous for its standardised layout of the medianum-apartments in the central courtyard.

By analysing the preserved internal staircases of the core apartments, the height of the buildings could be reconstructed; they appeared to correspond to the contemporary building regulations.

The consensus is that Roman apartments generally lacked water related facilities. An in-depth study of the Garden Houses on site, however, has revealed that the central apartments had a water drainage system and a direct connection to the urban water net.

INTRODUCTION¹

The Garden Houses were built in the south-west of Ostia between AD 128 and 130.² The series of apartments which form the core of this large apartment complex are often quoted as the classic example of standardised building in Roman antiquity.³ Yet the only detailed studies are those of C. Watts and D.J. Watts on the geometrical patterns in the arrangement of the complex, and of R. Cervi who studied the different building phases of the complex.⁴ Recently A. Gering has further examined the sequence of modifications.⁵

What most surprises the visitor of the eight ground floor apartments is their seemingly 'modern' design. With an impressive area of 240 m², divided over two storeys, the central apartments are very spacious. The arrangement of the core apartments, in a central open space and secluded by perimeter buildings, creates an environment reminiscent of a condominium (*fig. 1*).⁶

Previously, scholars reconstructed the appearance of the central buildings and suggested possible tenants.⁷ J. Packer believes that the central apartments consisted of four storeys: 'In all these structures - each four storeys high - the third and fourth floors were probably occupied by apartments which reproduced those of the first two storeys.'⁸ The scale model of Ostia based on reconstructions from I. Gismondi also shows the central apartments containing four storeys, the fourth floor being less high than the first three. F. Sear set up general rules on how to determine a building's height by looking at the thickness of the walls on ground level. According to him a thickness of 50 cm indicates two storeys, 80 cm

four storeys and 95 cm five storeys.⁹ The wall thickness of the central apartments measures 60 cm on ground level and would hence imply more than two but less than four storeys.

In general researchers agree that the apartments of Ostia lacked most facilities.¹⁰ C. Pavolini assumes that latrines and most of our modern amenities were generally absent. Th. Heres argues that tenants of apartments in Ostia used public facilities for their personal hygiene and relied on local *thermopolia* for food rather than using a kitchen at home.¹¹

The Garden Houses are no exception to this supposition. J. Packer doubts the presence of a kitchen and a latrine in the central apartments of the Garden Houses, even though he calls them 'some of the best flats in Ostia'.¹²

Although the central apartments of the Garden Houses in terms of size hardly fall short of the Roman domus and without doubt offered more comfort than the cramped single-room apartments, they are thought to have accommodated middle- rather than upper-class residents.¹³

Any reconstruction of the central apartments has to start from a close examination of the remains on site. The suggestions mentioned above, on the number of storeys or the presence of facilities, are hardly validated by the archaeological evidence. In addition, more evidence than simply the size and arrangement of the apartments needs to be considered in order to determine the social status of their inhabitants.

In this article the apartments themselves serve as the starting point for analysing the spatial arrangement and the constructional features. Furthermore, architectural details, most notably the staircases,



Fig. 1. The central apartments of the Garden Houses seen from the south east corner of the courtyard (photo Saskia Stevens).

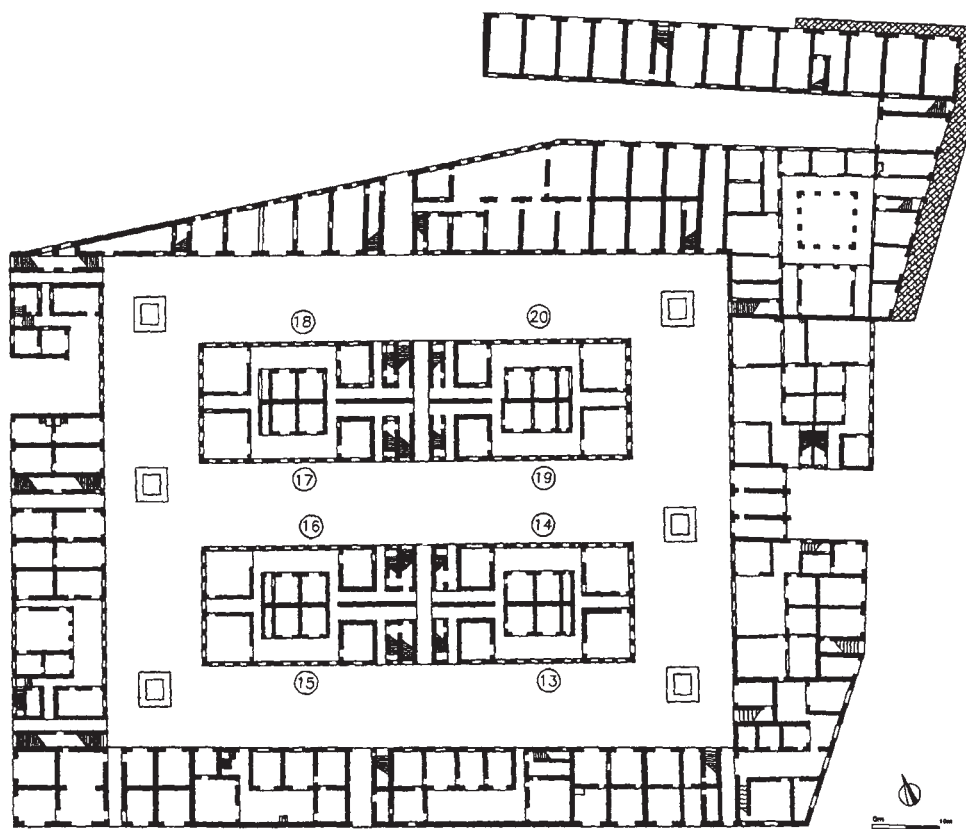


Fig. 2. The Garden Houses complex (plan after R. Cervi 1998).

are examined as concrete evidence for the height of the buildings, the amenities in the apartments and the social status of the tenants.

THE GARDEN HOUSES

The Garden Houses are located in region III, a quarter that was largely undeveloped until Trajan initiated building activities.¹⁴ Most of the area between the Via della Foce and the Cardo degli Aurighi was built over in this period. During the reign of Hadrian the expansion in this region of the city continued southwards.

The complex consists of perimeter buildings enclosing a rectangular space which contains two free-standing apartment blocks (III ix 13-20; fig. 2). The shape of the building lot available for the complex was determined by the course of already existing streets and the older city wall. The rectangular court, measuring 80 by 100 metres, was created by adapting the outer structures to the existing infrastructure and fortifications, which caused some of the buildings to have irregular shapes.¹⁵ The perimeter buildings contained apartments as well as smaller units intended for commercial activities which had small apartments above. The two central blocks consisted exclusively of apartments.

The apartments of the core buildings were arranged in back-to-back pairs, separated from the other pair by an intermediate corridor which gave access to the residences. One could also enter the apartments directly from the courtyard via a smaller entrance. Inside, the rooms were situated on three sides of a central space, called the *medianum*.¹⁶ The fourth side faced the central court. This type of apartment, the *medianum*-apartment, appears apart from the core of the complex eight times in the peripheral buildings.¹⁷

STAIRCASES AND BUILDING HEIGHT

The limited preserved walls of the central apartments do not contain traces of the joisting that supported the ceiling. There is another way, however, to determine the height of a single storey. By measuring and analysing the steps of the stairs it is possible to complete the staircases and to reconstruct their original height.

Each apartment has an internal staircase with a small landing close to the entrance from the courtyard (fig. 3). This indicates that each apartment took up at least two storeys. The first step up to the landing is made of travertine, while *bipedales* cover the landing itself. The stairway

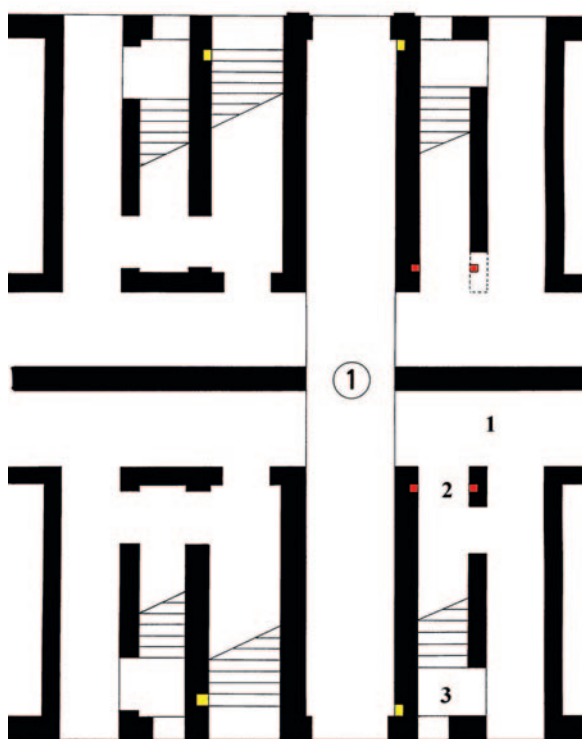


Fig. 3. The staircases of the southern apartment block on ground floor level. 1. main entrance corridor; 2. space underneath internal staircase; 3. landing of internal stairs (plan Saskia Stevens).

starting from the landing is covered with brick. In each of the apartments at least eight steps of the brick stairway have been preserved.

Outside, directly accessible from the courtyard both apartment blocks have two external staircases. All steps of these stairways are made of travertine blocks. They led to the flats located on top of the two-storey apartments indicating the existence of at least a third storey. This means that a total of sixteen apartments occupied the central court. The apartments on the third floor are generally considered to have been identical to the ones on the first two floors, implying that they also must have taken up two storeys.¹⁸ This suggests that the central buildings consisted of four storeys in total.

The stairway, connecting two horizontal levels of different heights, consists of risers, the vertical part of a step, and treads, the horizontal part. The first motion when climbing a staircase is upwards, thus stairs always begin with a riser. The final motion is also upwards upon which one arrives at the higher horizontal level. Therefore a staircase also ends with a riser. This means there is

always one riser more than the number of treads.

The risers and the treads of the internal stairs in the central apartments were measured on site and are respectively 22.0 cm high and 29.5 cm deep, corresponding to 0.75 Roman foot (theoretically 22.0 cm) and 1 Roman foot (29.6 cm).¹⁹ The height and the depth of the steps are identical in all apartments and must therefore be considered standardised.

When we determine the space available for constructing a staircase, the total going, the number of steps can be calculated and thereby the maximum height that those steps can reach. This space consists of the area between the inside of the exterior wall and the outside of the wall between room 2 and corridor 1. The total length measures 620.0 cm, equal to 21 Roman feet (theoretically 621.5 cm). The landing measures 120.0 cm, corresponding to 4 Roman feet (theoretically 118.5 cm), implying that $(620 - 120 \text{ cm}) = 500.0 \text{ cm}$ was available for the construction of the stairs starting from the landing, equivalent to $(21 - 4 =) 17$ Roman feet (theoretically 503.0 cm). This means that it was possible to construct seventeen treads each measuring 1 Roman foot.

From the floor of the corridor one tread leads up to the landing. The landing itself, connecting the two sets of stairs, must also be regarded as a tread. So there was a total number of nineteen treads. Since a stairway, as mentioned previously, always has one riser more than treads, nineteen treads imply twenty risers. The total height the stairway could reach was $(20 \times 22.0 \text{ cm}) = 444.0 \text{ cm}$, corresponding to $(20 \times 0.75 =) 15$ Roman feet (theoretically 444.0 cm).²⁰

Returning to the hypothetical number of four storeys, the total height of the central blocks would have been $(4 \times 444.0 \text{ cm}) = 1766.0 \text{ cm}$, equivalent to $(4 \times 15 =) 60$ Roman feet (theoretically 1776.0 cm). Ancient literary sources seem to substantiate this calculation. During the age of Augustus the building height was limited to a maximum of 70 Roman feet (theoretically 2072.0 cm).²¹ Due to a high risk of buildings collapsing, Trajan reduced the limit to 60 Roman feet.²² This restriction would have been in effect at the time the Garden Houses were built.²³ Since the height of a single storey was, as calculated above, 15 Roman feet, four storeys seem to be a highly plausible number.²⁴

WATER SUPPLY AND DRAINAGE

Apart from evidence for a spatial reconstruction of the buildings, there are indications regarding



Fig. 4. Fountain in the south east corner of the central courtyard of the Garden Houses (photo Saskia Stevens).



Fig. 5. Fountain in the Via della Fontana, Ostia (photo Saskia Stevens).

the water economy of the central apartments. For water supply the people in the harbour city initially had to drive wells. This was fairly easy since the groundwater was close to the surface.²⁵ Once the aqueduct was built during the reign of Tiberius, carrying water to the city from the Malafede hills, there was no longer a need to drive new wells.²⁶ From then on fountains appeared in streets and courtyards, receiving their water directly from the aqueduct.

During the construction of the Garden Houses six fountains were built in the central area of the complex (*fig. 4*).²⁷ These fountains are generally thought to have been used to supply the inhabitants of both the core and perimeter buildings with water.²⁸ Four fountains were built in each of the corners of the central courtyard, one was located near the main entrance to the complex on

the eastside and another one directly opposite on the other side of the garden. The basins measured 355.0 x 295.0 cm on the outside, corresponding to 12 x 10 Roman feet (theoretically 355.0 x 296.0 cm). On the inside, they were covered with a thick layer of a waterproof coating, *opus signinum*. The water coming from a lead pipe flowed into a basin and emptied via two spouts into a travertine gutter that surrounded three sides of the fountains and led to the sewer. Directly under the spouts there were circular sockets cut into the travertine. Some think they were used for placing *amphorae* when collecting water.²⁹ They also may have reduced the spattering when water fell into the gutter, as G. Jansen suggests.³⁰

As the fountains are preserved only to a height of 50 cm, it is difficult to determine their original appearance. In the streets of Ostia there are several examples of fountains covered by a barrel vault (*fig. 5*).³¹ This covering prevented the water from getting polluted. Where the gutters are preserved circular sockets are usually present, marking the place where the water emptied into the gutter. In Pompeii, on the other hand, open basins were common and they were used in a different way. The absence of gutters meant that the water was collected in a bucket or *amphora* before it fell into the basin. Wear marks on the edges of the basins also imply that buckets were hauled by ropes in order to collect water when the spout was turned off.³²

Since the fountains in the central area of the Garden Houses had a gutter containing circular sockets, like other covered fountains in Ostia, we can surmise that they were covered as well. Additionally, their sturdy and non-decorative appearance suggests that they were purely functional. We must therefore consider their arrangement in terms of utility rather than aesthetics.

Bearing this in mind, we can make an important observation. If the fountains were indeed built for all the inhabitants of the complex, their arrangement is an example of poor planning. The inhabitants of the central apartments would have had to go relatively far to collect water. This is rather remarkable since these apartments were at least as important as the *medianum*-apartments in the perimeter and of higher status than the smaller units in the outer buildings and their apartments above. If the inhabitants of the inner apartments had to rely on these fountains for water, some of them would have been located closer to the entrances.

The fountains are, in fact, situated much closer to the outer ring: four are built in the corners of

the central area close to the secondary entrances of the complex and external staircases leading to small apartments above. The other two are located near the main entrances of the complex on the east and west side of the periphery. The proximity of the fountains to the entrances might indicate that even people living outside the complex used the basins for their water supply. Since the basins were purely functional, as mentioned above, their actual location must be related to the users. It is therefore plausible that the fountains were not intended for the central apartments, but rather for those working and living in the smaller buildings of the perimeter.

If the inhabitants of the central apartments were not depending on the fountains for their water supply, they must have had their own separate water source. And although there is no direct evidence to confirm a connection to the urban water net, such as lead pipes, observations made inside the apartments seem to confirm this assumption.

In numerous places in the apartments we find small rectangular openings in the walls. An in-depth study has revealed that these recesses were used for the supply and drainage of water. By tracing these openings a reconstruction has been made of the position of the recesses on the second, third and fourth floor (*fig. 6*). This reconstruction enables us to determine at which floors the recesses could be used and at the same time raises the question of whether the standardisation in the central apartments was limited only to the floor plans, or if it extended to the apartments' amenities as well.

The recesses are located inside the apartments near the entrances, on the external staircases and in the intermediate corridors. The recesses in the corridors and in the external staircases have a width and depth of 30.0 cm, equivalent to 1 Roman foot (29.6 cm). In these openings traces of a thick and uniform lime sediment are visible (*figs. 7 and 8*). This sediment closely resembles what we find on the water towers in Pompeii. These towers were used to spread the water throughout the city while simultaneously reducing the water pressure. On top of each tower there was a lead tank in which the water was conducted and where the pressure was reduced to zero. From there the water went down again, regaining pressure to allow it to continue up to the next tower, which was located at a lower level. The lead tanks regularly overflowed causing lime deposits to form on the outside of the towers. These deposits, which can still be seen today, mark out the positions of the lead pipes.³³ The water must have been leaking con-

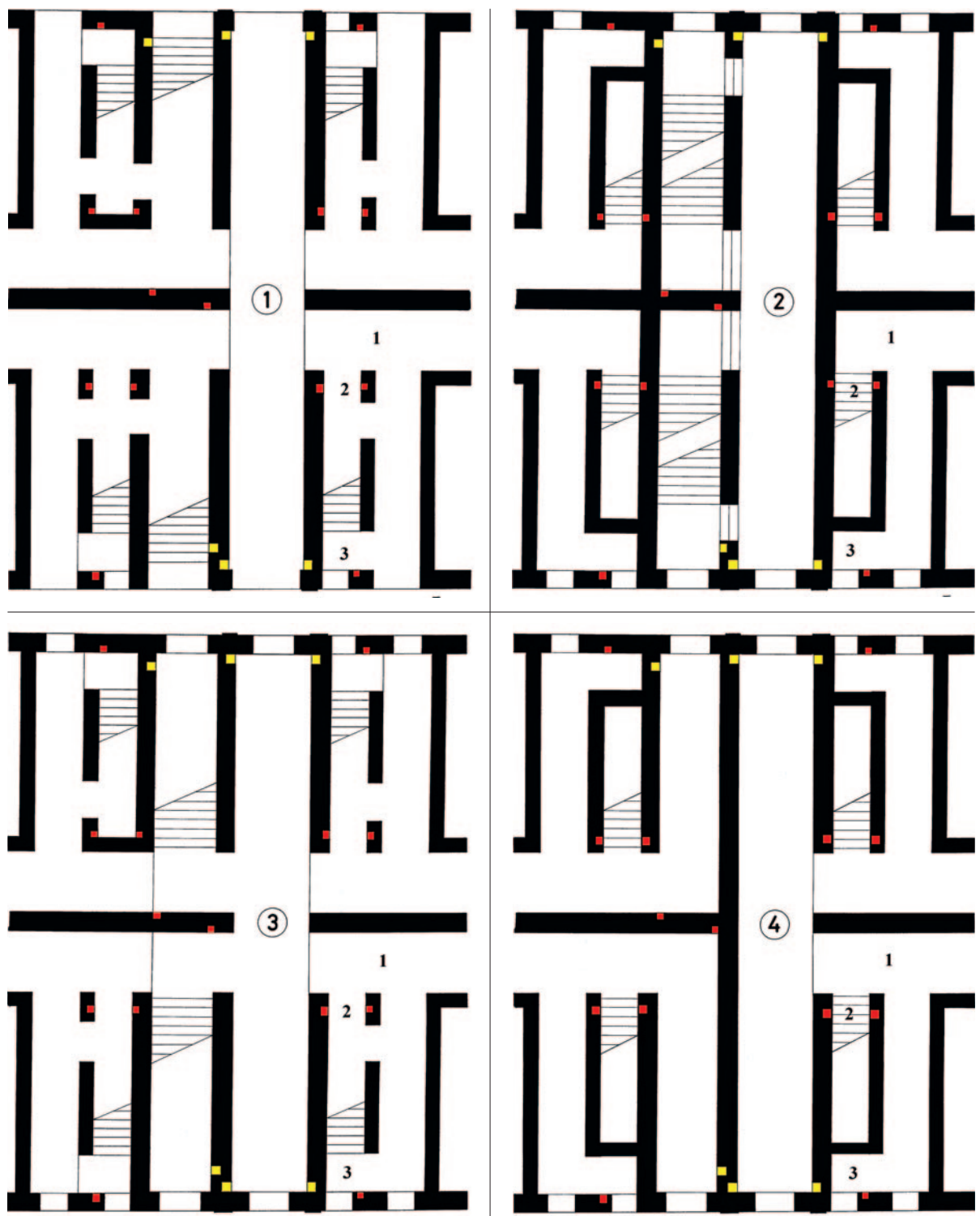


Fig. 6. Plan of the recesses for water supply and drainage on the ground floor (1) of the northern apartment block of the Garden Houses and a reconstruction of the second, third and fourth floors (2, 3, 4). The recesses used for water supply are marked in yellow and the ones used for drainage are coloured red (plans Saskia Stevens).



Fig. 7. Lime deposit in the recess of the east wall of the external staircase in the northern apartment block (photo Saskia Stevens).



Fig. 8. Lime deposit in the recess of the east wall of the intermediate corridor in the southern apartment block (photo Saskia Stevens).

tinuously in order to form such a level of sediment. This suggests that the recesses located outside the apartments of the Garden Houses must have contained lead pipes that leaked almost continuously and were used to supply water.

The sediment and the presence of the recesses not only confirm the connection to the urban water system, but also prove that the ground floor and at least the second floor of the apartments had running water. If only the ground floor had been connected to the water system recesses would not have been necessary. In that case the pipes could have led directly into the apartments.

The recesses inside the apartments are located in room 2, underneath the internal staircase, and in room 3 on the landing of the internal staircase. These openings are smaller than the ones outside the apartments and measure 22.0 x 22.0 cm, corresponding to 0.75 x 0.75 Roman feet (theoretically 22.0 x 22.0 cm). No traces of any sediment

are found in these recesses. Moreover, they were covered with plaster which was fairly permanent and implies that the builders knew there was little risk of leakage. The recesses inside were therefore not used for water supply, but rather for water drainage. Terra cotta pipes were used to drain off waste water. These pipes were joined accurately, the bottom of one pipe having a smaller diameter than the opening of the following pipe, which considerably reduced the risk of leakage. And because the waste water only drained occasionally and without pressure, lime deposits did not form.

In fact, by placing the water supply pipes outside the apartments in the more or less public parts of the building, builders seem to have taken into account the higher risk of leakage. The external location made it possible to repair pipes without disturbing the tenants. Some of the water supply recesses show traces of sediment outside the

recess. This suggests they were closed off by a less permanent cover, past which the lime was able to deposit. The 1 Roman foot (29.6 cm) width of the recesses could indicate that uniform bricks of this size were used to seal them.

The lead pipes used for the water supply could be easily bent, meaning that the water coming in via the intermediate corridor or the external staircases could be channelled directly into the apartments and their facilities. Examples from Pompeii illustrate that one lead pipe could be branched off into several pipes using a lead distribution box.³⁴ This implies that one water supply pipe could have served many amenities in the central apartments.

In order to reduce the risk of obstruction in the terracotta drainage pipes, Roman builders tended to locate the amenity directly over the given pipes.³⁵ Keeping them in an upright position at the same time reduced the risk of leakage, since the drainage pipes were most vulnerable at the joints.

WATER FACILITIES

Now that we have established which recesses were used for what purposes and what determined the position of the facility, the amenities in the apartments can be identified separately and in more detail. With respect to the standardised layout of the central apartments, one would expect that they all had the same number of recesses for both water supply and drainage. However, this is not the case. The northern apartment block, containing apartments III ix 17 to 20, has six recesses for water supply and no less than fourteen recesses for drainage. The southern block on the other hand, accommodating apartments III ix 13 to 16, has four recesses for water supply and only four for drainage (see *fig. 3*). This suggests that the apartments in the northern block had more amenities than those in the southern block.

Which facilities in the central apartments were standard components of the plan and which were supplementary? In order to make this distinction, we must compare the recesses present in all apartments versus those that appear only in some. The recesses that appear in all apartments, with the exception of apartments III ix 15 and 16, are located under the internal staircase. They therefore seem to represent the standard presence of most basic amenity, the toilet. Since there were no public latrines in the direct vicinity of the Garden Houses, a private toilet would not have been a superfluous luxury. Apart from this observation, the space under the internal staircase has often been characterised as a toilet.³⁶

If this facility would only have been available on the ground floor, the recesses would not have been needed, since the waste water could flow directly into the sewer. On the second floor these recesses were unusable because of their location on the internal staircase. This confirms the existence of a third storey, where these recesses would have been located under the internal staircase. It also indicates that the third floor was equipped with a toilet. In the House of the Painted Vaults (III v 1) there is a facility with a drain on the first floor that resembles a toilet. Also in other contemporary apartments such as the House of the Aurighi (III x 1) and the House of Serapis (III x 3) there are terracotta drains visible on higher levels, in the latter these drains are preserved up to the third floor. Taking into account that smaller single-storey apartments in Ostia, such as the Casette-tipo apartments (III xii and xiii) and the apartments III i 12-13, were provided with their own toilets, it can be assumed that this amenity was a standard facility rather than a symbol of luxury (*fig. 9*).³⁷

The central apartments have other recesses for drainage besides those linked to an evidently standard latrine. The apartments located in the northern block have an additional recess for drainage on the landing of the internal staircase. As figure 6 illustrates, this drain could have been used on all floors. It may have been a small foun-



Fig. 9. Reconstruction of a latrine in one of the Casette-tipo apartments (III xiii) (photo Saskia Stevens).

tain on the internal staircase, a water facility in room 3, possibly an extra toilet, or a household facility.

Finally, the apartments III ix 17 and 18 in the northern block have extra drains in corridor 1 immediately beyond the entrance. A water amenity on the ground floor is highly unlikely, since it would have been located directly behind the main entrance in the corridor. On the second floor the drains could have been used for a small fountain on the external staircase, not an unusual feature.³⁸ On the third floor the recesses would have been situated on the landing between the entrances of the apartments located on this floor - an unsuitable location for a water facility. On the fourth floor another water facility, such as a hand wash, would have been possible.

How exceptional are the facilities present in the central apartments compared with those found in the perimeter buildings? At first sight, the *medianum*-apartments in the periphery seem to have had the same facilities as the central apartments. The House of the Muses (III ix 22) in the north-east corner had a fountain of its own connected to the urban water system.³⁹ The House of the Hieroduli (III ix 6) was also connected, but that was not until the end of the second or beginning of the third century AD.⁴⁰ In the smaller units, however, there is no indication that there was a private water supply. Therefore, the fountains in the central area must have served primarily these units and probably the shops located north of the outer buildings as well (III ix 23-26).

CONCLUSION

A structural analysis of the central apartments of the Garden Houses and a study of the arrangement of the buildings within the complex has made it possible to reconstruct the height of the core buildings, the included facilities and the manner in which the apartments were used.

The analysis of the recesses used for water supply and drainage has confirmed the number of storeys suggested by the study of the stairways. The examination of the recesses has also made it possible to determine what water facilities were present and on which floors they were used.

It has already been said that the Garden Houses complex, containing many *medianum*-apartments, must have accommodated a middle class population. What their position was within the range of middle class apartments, has never been studied. Since facilities related to water economy were present in Roman apartments to some extent, the

quality and quantity of those amenities provide an objective criterion for determining the relative social status of the apartments and their inhabitants. J. Boersma already suggested in his study of private latrines in Ostia: '...the presence or absence of a latrine in a domestic building is one of the instruments to gain insight into the social standards of a building and the status of the people who lived or worked in it.'⁴¹ He only included the latrines. However, the direct connection to the urban water system, a more exclusive facility, is essential in determining social status.

Within the Garden Houses complex the level of water facilities of the central apartments was high. Additionally, the size and position in an enclosed area substantiate the relative high social status of these apartments. A comparative analysis with other contemporary *medianum*-apartments in Ostia will make it possible to distinguish a social hierarchy within the range of those apartments.

Analysing other apartments in the same way, not only in Ostia but also in Rome, will provide a more accurate insight in the facilities of Roman high-rise buildings and at the same time contribute to a more profound understanding of the social stratification within Roman housing.

NOTES

¹ This article originates in my MA thesis on the Garden Houses in Ostia, which I wrote at the University of Nijmegen under the supervision of Stephan Mols and Eric Moormann. In 2001 and 2002 I did the fieldwork in Ostia and I want to express my gratitude to the staff of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, especially Anna Gallina Zevi, for their help. I thank Jane Sheppard and Loredana Rea for their assistance in the photographic and drawing archives. I am grateful to the Dutch Institute in Rome (NIR) for the hospitality which enabled me to stay in Rome for a long time to do my research. I warmly thank Kees Peterse, Louis van den Hengel and Andreas Kropp for proofreading the text and their constructive comments. Special thanks to Lorraine Anderson for reading and correcting the English text.

² Bloch 1953, 223: Most brick stamps found in the Garden Houses date from the year AD 123, few from AD 124 and 125. Still the complex can be dated between AD 128 and 130, since there was always a gap of a few years between the production of the bricks and the actual application. See also: Becatti 1953, 136-137, 223; Packer 1971, 172-173; Pavolini 1983, 156-157; Cervi 1998, 144; DeLaine 2002, 53.

³ Blake 1973, 189-191; Sear 1998, 129-130; Gros 2001, 132.

⁴ Watts, C.M./D.J. Watts 1987, Geometrical Ordering of the Garden Houses at Ostia, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 265-276; Cervi, R. 1998: Evoluzione architettonica della cosiddetta 'Case a Giardino' ad Ostia, in Quilici, L./S. Quilici Gigli (eds.), *Città e*

- Monumenti nell'Italia Antica*, Rome, 141-156.
- 5 Gering, A. 2002: Die Case a Giardino als unerfüllter Architektentraum. Planung und gewandelte Nutzung einer Luxuswohnanlage im antiken Ostia, *RM* 109, 109-140.
 - 6 Bakker 1994, 48. To emphasise the large area of the apartments, Bakker compares them to a standard modern Dutch four-room apartment, which measures approximately 90 m².
 - 7 Pavolini (1986, 181) suggests as possible tenants: ship owners, merchants, entrepreneurs and contractors.
 - 8 Packer 1969, 48.
 - 9 Sear 1998, 128-130. These rules of thumb, however, are a bit random and not substantiated by archaeological data.
 - 10 A possible explanation for the absence of cooking facilities in many houses in Ostia is that most of them have been removed during excavations and restorations. Riva (1999, 118-120) illustrates this phenomenon using the plans of the *Domus* of Apuleius (II viii 5). In the oldest plan, dating from 1886, the house clearly has a kitchen. However, in a plan from 1961 this kitchen has completely disappeared. For this feature see also Salza Prina Ricotti 1978-1980, 279.
 - 11 Pavolini 1986, 181; Heres 2001, 225.
 - 12 Packer 1971, 72.
 - 13 Meiggs 1973, 142; Pasini 1978, 80-82; Bakker 1994, 51; Gros 2001, 132-133; Gering 2001, 202.
 - 14 Becatti 1953, fig. 30 and 31; Gros 2001 132.
 - 15 The buildings in the north part of the outer ring (III ix 9 and 10) have oblique facades, following the direction of the *Cardo degli Aurighi*.
 - 16 Hermansen (1981, 21-22) introduced this terminology. Henceforth this type of apartment is known as a *medianum*-apartment.
 - 17 Well known *medianum*-apartments in the periphery are the House of the Yellow Walls (III ix 12), the House of the Graffiti (III ix 21) and the House of the Hieroduli (III ix 6).
 - 18 Packer 1969, 48.
 - 19 Van der Meer/Stevens (2000, 178) indicate that the most frequent depths of internal staircases in second century houses in Ostia are 28, 29 and 30 cm. Most risers vary between 17 and 23 cm. Boersma (1985, 92; 132) found in the House of the Porch (V ii 4-5) and in the Baths of the Philosopher (V ii 6-7) in Ostia risers and goings of stairs with the same measurements. See also Adam 2001, 201-203.
 - 20 The height of 15 feet includes the thickness of the ceiling, which must have been about 2 Roman feet. The net height would have been approximately 13 Roman feet (theoretically 385.0 cm). Meiggs (1973, 240) and Pavolini (1986, 187) mention an average height of 350.0 cm.
 - 21 Strabo 5.3.7: Ἐπεμελήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐμπροθίας συντάξας στρατιωτικὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθερωτῶν τὸ βοηθήσον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς συμπώσεις τὰ ὕψη τῶν καινῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καθελὼν, κωλύσας ἐξαίρειν ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ πρὸς ταῖς ὁδοῖς ταῖς δημοσίαις. ('Now Augustus Caesar concerned himself about such impairments of the city, organising for protection against fires a militia composed of freedmen, whose duty it was to render assistance, and also to provide against collapses, reducing the heights of the new buildings and forbidding that any structure on the public streets should rise as high as seventy feet.')
 - 22 *Epit. de Caes.* 13.13: *Quibus omnibus Traianus per exquisita remedia plurimum opitulatus est, statuens, ne domorum altitudo sexaginta superaret pedes ob ruinas faciles et sumptus, si quando talia contingerent, exitiosos.* ('But Trajan solved all these matters with superb remedies to a large extent, prescribing that the height of the houses was not to exceed sixty feet, because of a ready tendency to collapse and exorbitant expenses, if something like that were to happen.')
 - 23 See also Meiggs 1973, 241.
 - 24 When a Roman apartment block was used purely for accommodation purposes, all storeys were of equal height. For example the House of the Paintings (I iv 4) and the House of the Trifore (III iii 1) in Ostia. However, where the ground floor had a commercial purpose, the storey was usually taller than the subsequent ones. This is a common feature even today.
 - 25 Jansen 2002, 131-135. The water table was only at 2.5 to 4.5 metres below ground level. See also: Plin. *Ep.* 2.17: *Quocumque loco moveris humum, obuius et paratus umor occurrit isque sincerus ac ne leviter quidem tanta maris vicinitate salsus.* ('for in what part so ever you dig, you meet, upon the first turning up of the ground, with a spring of pure water, not in the least salt, though so near to the sea.')
 - 26 Meiggs 1973, 112 fig. 1; Ricciardi I 1996, 89; Ricciardi II 1996, 117.
 - 27 Ricciardi II 1996, 114. Brick stamps, dating from AD 123 and 127, have indicated that the fountains were constructed at the same time as the complex.
 - 28 Frier 1980, 18.
 - 29 Ashby 1912, 176.
 - 30 Jansen 2002, 172 note 144.
 - 31 For example the fountains in the Via del Balconi and the Via della Fontana. Another example can be found in the courtyard of the House of Hercules (IV ii 3).
 - 32 Jansen 2002, 144.
 - 33 Jansen 2002, 34-37.
 - 34 Jansen 2002, 50-55, fig. II.66 and II.67.
 - 35 Jansen 2002, 60 fig. II.80.
 - 36 Packer 1971, 29; Blake 1973, 190; Liedtke 1999, 711; Jansen 2002, 153 and 156-158.
 - 37 Bakker 1994, 47 note 17: 'The presence of latrines in the small Casette-tipo suggests that latrines were, at least on the ground floor, a standard facility.'
 - 38 For example, on the landing of the external staircase of the House of the Painted Vaults (III v 1) a small fountain is located.
 - 39 Ricciardi II 1996, 118.
 - 40 Ricciardi II 1996, 117.
 - 41 Boersma 1996, 151.

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The Nemrud Dağ Project: third interim report

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with contributions by Tesse D. Stek and Ellen Thiermann

Abstract

The third campaign of the Nemrud Dağ Project, in 2003, primarily aimed at the protection and conservation of the four tuffit dexiosis reliefs and the lion horoscope on the West Terrace. These were brought to a temporary on-site restoration laboratory, where, in the next years, they will be treated. Furthermore, the statue of Antiochos on the East Terrace was restored by partial dismantling and rebuilding, and the northern statue of the Eagle and the base were partly restored; a job to be fully completed in the next campaign. This work also resulted in some new observations concerning stone working techniques, building structure, letter marks and style of the colossi. The archaeological work furthermore consisted of documentation (SIS) and taking an inventory of remains from Nemrud Dağ in the storerooms of the museum of Adıyaman. This report also contains an essay on the life and work of Theresa Goell, Nemrud Dağ's main explorer in the last century.

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Site Condition
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 - 3.3.3 Letter Marks on the East Terrace Statues
 - 3.3.4 The Heads of Apollo and Antiochos on the East Terrace (Eric M. Moormann)
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- 6 Theresa Goell: a life for Nemrud Dağ (Eric M. Moormann)

1 INTRODUCTION

The 2003 campaign of the Nemrud Dağ Project had two main points of interest. First, we aimed at the protection and conservation of the four tuffit *dexiosis* reliefs and the lion horoscope on the West Terrace by bringing these reliefs to an on-site restoration laboratory (the tuffit project, cf. section 4.1; fig. 1). In this restoration house, the reliefs will be protected from the tough weather conditions, especially the heavy snow (cf. section 2) and, in the next years, can be treated (cf. section 4.1). In order

to accomplish this work, the reliefs mentioned had to undergo pre-conservation. They then had to be lifted and transported over a road that had to be built over the existing one, to the newly built, pre-fabricated and temporary restoration



Fig. 1. The West Terrace Apollo dexiosis in the process of being lifted from its position into a truck to be transported to the restoration laboratory (photo J. Venneman).



Fig. 2. Arrow head found in the fill of the base of the northern Lion and Eagle (statues H and I) on the East Terrace (photo J. Venneman).

laboratory. Moreover, some of the limestone colossal statues on the East Terrace were (partly) treated and restored (the limestone project, cf. section 4.2). From the north slope of the East Terrace podium, 14 fallen-down blocks belonging to Eagle (H) and Lion (I) were lifted and put next to the terrace in order to be able to fully document them and to put them back sequentially on their restored base. Also, emergency measurements were undertaken on the statue of Antiochos (C).

Simultaneously, the archaeological research, which started during the first two campaigns, was continued (cf. section 3). There were a few (stray) finds while the conservation work that was undertaken prompted some interesting new observations and hypotheses. We worked on the completion of the Site Information System (SIS) and integrated our changes to the physical appearance of the site into this documentation system. Furthermore, we substantially advanced in making an inventory of the artefacts from Nemrud Dağ, mostly parts of the tuffit *dexiosis*- and ancestor reliefs, in the storerooms of the Adıyaman Museum. The campaign lasted from the 1st of June to July 30, 2003.¹

2 SITE CONDITION

On our arrival, we found the site in the same condition as we left it in last year. The snow barrage built behind the *dexiosis* reliefs and the lion horoscope on the West Terrace in order to protect these from falling down, as had happened with two of the reliefs in the winter of 2001-2002 due to the pressure from snow coming from the tumulus, proved to have functioned very well.² The inclined steel pipes of the barrage were deformed by the heavy weight of snow, but there was no new damage to the reliefs. The barrage was removed in the first week of our campaign. Due to the extreme climatological circumstances on top of Nemrud Dağ during the winter, some of the poles of the fence system had broken off. The material of the barrage has been reused for the frames for the transport of the same reliefs to the restoration house (figs. 1, 17).

We made repairs to the well functioning fence system and extended it by erecting new series of poles on the West Terrace. This system must prevent visitors from climbing onto the statues and reliefs, causing damage to the monument.

3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The archaeological work consisted of some finds (cf. section 3.1), the completion and up-dating of the Site Information System (cf. section 3.2), new observations and the development of new ideas on the interpretation of the monument (cf. section 3.3) and the beginning of a database of all parts of reliefs and other artefacts from the *hierothesion* that are now in various Turkish and international museums (cf. section 3.4).

It is interesting to note that the ongoing conservation and restoration projects enable archaeologists to get a better insight into the building of the monument. The partly dismantling and rebuilding of the statue of Antiochos, East Terrace (C) provided the unique opportunity to study its building structure from the inside, while emergency works on the East Terrace Herakles (G) revealed clues on the building of the colossi themselves.

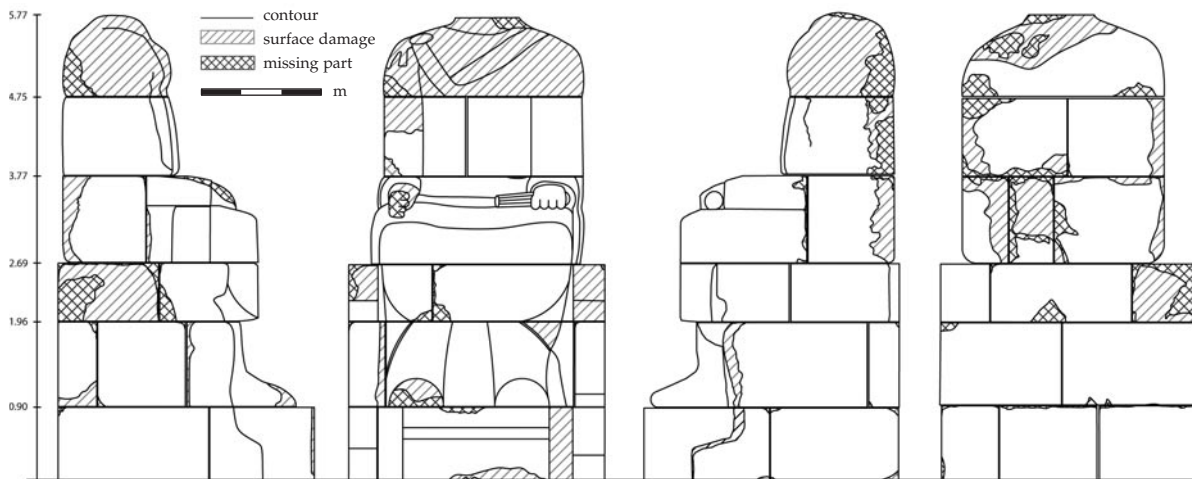
3.1 Finds

Similar to the works carried out by Theresa Goell, our archaeological explorations did not yield many finds so far. This campaign, the removal of the fill of the base of the northern Eagle and Lion on the East Terrace (statues H-I) brought to light one iron arrowhead (fig. 2), whereas at the opposite side, under the north-eastern corner of the A-B statues of the animals, a ceramic sherd was found.³ Worked pieces of limestone were found in the debris and sustaining wall behind the row of statues on the East Terrace and could be partly identified as fragments of the statues themselves. These last finds were no surprise, as Antiochos' head and the fragments of Kommagene had been there for many years, the most substantial fragments being hoisted to the terrace in 2002.

a. Arrow head

Hammered iron head, well preserved and only slightly corroded.⁴ It has a lancet-shaped blade, finishing into a now turned point and having a ring at the lower side. The long pin at its end was to be inserted into a wooden shaft (fig. 2).

The turned point proves that the object has been used. Theresa Goell found an almost identical piece, and other such pieces are well known from



Figs. 3-6. The four sides of the statue of Antiochos (C) on the East Terrace as preserved after rebuilding in 2003 (drawings by A.A. Roeloffs, University of Amsterdam).

Arsameia ad Nymphaeum.⁵ Concerning the iron head from Nemrud Dağ found by Goell, D. Storch wrote: 'that this suggested some final struggle that immediately preceded the abandonment of the site', but this is rather speculative and one may also think of other explanations. The fact that our piece was found deeply hidden corresponds with Goell's case and we may, therefore, attribute the object to the period of Antiochos' building activity; perhaps it was just used for hunting.⁶

b. Fragment of tiara

L 121,⁷ fragment of the tiara of Antiochos on the East Terrace found in the sustaining wall of the tumulus behind the statue itself. It shows fragments of triangles like the top of the Antiochos' tiara on the West Terrace. As there are remains of epoxy, it must have been glued to now missing parts of it.⁸

c. Fragment of tiara or base with claw of eagle

L 122 is a quarter of a circle, slanting in its profile and showing smooth sides, found like no. 6.⁹ It may form part of the tip of a tiara, in that case that of Herakles or Zeus on the East Terrace. The slanting profile, however, makes it more probable to attribute it to the northern Eagle, i.e. the round base under its claws.

d. Fragments of statues

L 123-136, 142: 15 undeterminable pieces of worked limestone, mostly showing one or two worked sides and also found in the sustaining wall. It is probable that many of these parts belong to the fifth or sixth layer of the Kommagene, destroyed severely and split into many pieces.

3.2 The SIS (with Tesse D. Stek & Ellen Thiermann)

The Site Information System (SIS) proved to be of great help in the restoration activities executed this campaign on the East Terrace. While during the last years the situation on the terraces themselves was documented, thus far the standing parts of the colossi had received less detailed attention. In view of the partial dismantling of the statue of Antiochos, East Terrace (C), we decided to make drawings of the *in situ* situation; all documentation hitherto (including Goell's) was photographic. Figs. 3-6 show the Eastern Terrace Antiochos (C) from four sides and document, together with the photographic and other data already in the SIS, the 2003 situation after the partial dismantling and rebuilding. Besides this work, we have mainly been engaged with filling in lacunae of the SIS, like the many parts of tuffit reliefs and other elements that lay scattered around the site. Moreover, we constantly had to update the SIS as the restoration and conservation works continuously change the physical appearance of the site. During 2003 the campaign, these new data were imported into the SIS on a daily basis by Jurriaan Venneman (*fig. 7*).

3.3 Some new observations

3.3.1 Stone working techniques

An inventory of the stone working techniques that have been used in building the limestone elements of the monument has not been made before. In close co-operation with Christoph Kronewirth, the

team's stone conservator, we studied the working traces, especially those on the surfaces of bottom and top of the blocks of Antiochos. This work was made possible when we hoisted the blocks for restoration (cf. section 4.2).

The top and bottom surfaces of the blocks that form the Antiochos statue show abundant marks of tooth and pointed chisels, whereas the sides show fewer traces because of weathering. The surfaces are rather rough and nowhere show entirely smooth faces. Apparently, in some cases pointed chisels were used to flatten the surface when the blocks were placed into their final position and resulted to be slightly too thick. The masons worked hastily and in various directions. When we rebuilt the Antiochos blocks, we could observe that the work had not been done with great care: many levels were not exactly horizontal. Neither preparation lines nor other technical features like *anathyrosis* were applied. On the upper side of layer 2, the legs, a small drip of lead, of the size of a coin, was found (fig. 8). It does not look like a specific technical item and could have fallen, when lead was used for other purposes. No other traces of lead were found.

On top of some blocks (not only of the Antiochos, but of other statues as well), we observed rectangular shallow indents at the sides. These had been cut out before systemising the blocks and served



Fig. 8. Drip of lead on the upper side of layer 2 of the statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace (photo J. Venneman).

for the precise fitting of these blocks, according to a common practice in Greek architecture: the workmen placed crowbars on those spots under the block of the following layer and could move the blocks rather easily into their final position, despite their enormous weight.¹⁰ In fact, our workmen also used this technique when they put the Antiochos blocks into position.

One of the reasons to have a closer look at the stone working techniques was our idea, inspired by Carl Nylander's *Ionians in Pasargadae*, that this might perhaps provide some specific notions in the discussion about the 'Western' or 'Eastern' character of the *hierothesion*.¹¹ If the monument would have been built by workers using Greek methods this does not automatically imply that we can characterise it as Greek, as Nylander has



Fig. 7. Part of the digitalised plan of the East Terrace showing the situation at the end of the 2003 campaign, with the sandstone remains indicated as well as a more detailed image of the platform in front of the statues.

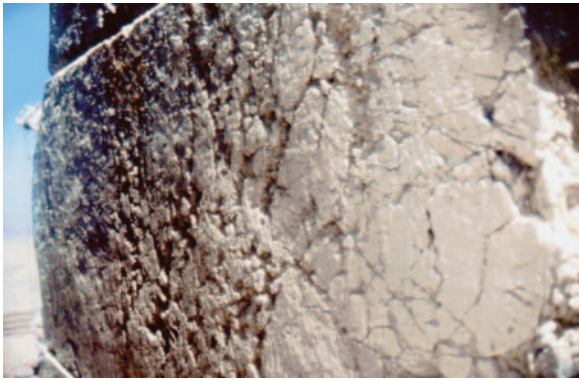


Fig. 9. Northern side view of the statue of Zeus (E), East Terrace, clearly showing irregular stripes of pointed chisel working at the back side (photo M.J. Versluys).



Fig. 10. Top view of layer 5 of the statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace, with the mortar filling of the inner side of the two blocks of this layer (photo M.J. Versluys).



Fig. 11. The statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace, fill of layer 1 (photo J. Venneman).

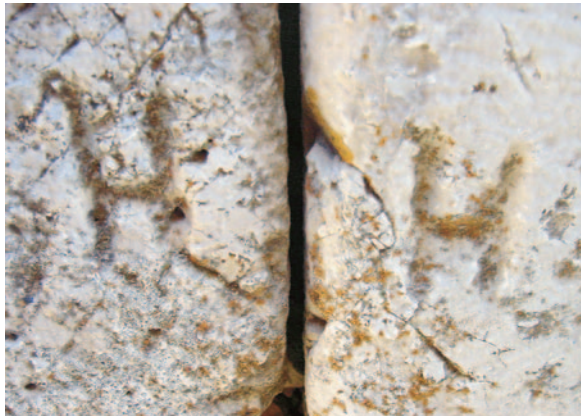
convincingly shown in his case, but it would still be an interesting conclusion. Unfortunately, this is impossible to ascertain, as in the late Hellenistic period specific ways of building and specific building instruments (like the pointed chisel) were already widely and generally established around the (Eastern) Mediterranean. What can be said though is that in general the stone is worked in very differing ways, sometimes smoothly and refined, often roughly and irregularly (fig. 9). This observation can be used as an argument in favour of those who argue that the monument has not been finished, but other explanations are also imaginable. Perhaps, as we have already seen several times, a detailed and refined working off was simply not considered important.

3.3.2 Observations on the building structure of the statue of Antiochos, East Terrace

The (partial) dismantling of the statue of Antiochos on the East Terrace (see section 4.2 18-21) enabled us to get a better insight into the building structure of this colossal statue.

When layer 6 (one large shoulder piece) was lifted on the terrace, we noticed a white discoloration at the bottom of this block. In inspecting the upper part of layer 5 (consisting of two relatively smaller blocks) the reason for this became apparent: the blocks were partly hollowed out on the inside and the round gap thus created had largely been filled up with white mortar (fig. 10). That some of the blocks of the colossi were hollowed out was already known; the West Terrace provides some fine examples of this practise. However, the use of mortar during the construction (or restoration) of the statues had not been established so far. Apparently, the mortar had been applied from below. This becomes clear from its uneven upper surface and of organic material present between the fill and stone. We cannot, therefore, but conclude that when layers 1 to 6 were already *in situ* the mortar was added from inside the already built up statue. This suggests a later (restoration?) phase; if the mortar would have been applied in the original construction process it would have been much easier and practical to apply it before the lifting and positioning of layer 6. It is important to notice that there is no structural need for the presence of the mortar at all. Its presence thus must have had another, perhaps practical reason.

Another observation was that of a corbelled vault under level 6. The breast blocks show their hollow insides in a way that a sort of vault is



Figs. 12-13. Southern side of the statue of Herakles (G), East Terrace showing the letter marks H en O (photos J. Venneman).

formed. Besides, the block at the backside shows a partly slanting surface on top.

Layer 1 has a fill consisting of one well-worked square block in the centre surrounded by earth and small pieces of stone. Apparently the stability of the statue was enhanced by this element, although it was no necessary intervention from the point of view of structural stability. We left the piece in its position and refilled the emptied space around it with clean small pieces of limestone (*fig. 11*).

3.3.3 Letter Marks on the East Terrace Statues

During a close inspection of the East Terrace Herakles (G) we discovered Greek characters on the north and south walls near the joints of the blocks (*figs. 12-13*). They first looked like slight damages to the stone as seen everywhere, but upon more intensive observation, we could conclude that they really are letters. Although Theresa Goell must have seen them, she made no notes about them that could be included in Sander's monograph.¹²

The south wall of the Herakles has on the first layer twice an I, on the second a double H, in the third layer a double O, the left one being oval and turned to its left by 90° (*figs. 12-13*). The north wall has in its lower layer a couple of mirror-facing E and two times an X in the shape of a + and in the second tier a pair of Θ. The north face of the Antiochos shows in the second layer on blocks L 104 and L 108 an X, the Apollo shows in the lower layer on the north side twice an O and twice an I. The Zeus, finally, has a couple of I on the first layer of the northern side. These marks are only present on the flanks of the statues and have not been applied in every layer.

We know of three reasons to apply such letters to blocks: 1) mason's marks, 2) assembly or setting marks and 3) paying marks. All of them occur rather frequently in the ancient world. The most probable explanation for the tokens at Nemrud Dağ, however, is option 2), as the position of the letters next to the joints and always in exactly the same height on the blocks is striking.¹³ They have been found from the classical period onwards in all sorts of monumental buildings in the Greek and Hellenistic world.¹⁴

Could it mean that the makers introduced Greek working methods to the east of Anatolia (cf. also section 3.3.1)? We can only conclude that all letterings are Greek. The hitherto not interpreted inscription on the lower side of the Herakles' shoulder on the West Terrace could be seen as another sign of assembling.¹⁵

3.3.4 The heads of Apollo and Antiochos on the East Terrace (Eric M. Moormann)

An additional advantage of systemising all heads of the colossi on the East Terrace in one row is that one can study and compare them more attentively.¹⁶ It soon becomes clear that the heads of the king and Apollo differ in several respects from the other ones (*figs. 14-15*). The material seems to be harder than the other limestone heads and is whiter. The sculptural quality also looks higher than that of the others. It is striking that the faces are much more round and possess smaller mouths, which, besides, are closed instead of open, according to the Hellenistic pathos formula of the other figures. It was recorded in our first interim report that the Antiochos head had not been finished, having unworked ears, left flat. There it



Fig. 14. Head of the statue of Apollo (F), East Terrace, frontal view (photo J. Venneman).



Fig. 15. Head of the statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace, frontal view (photo J. Venneman).

was only tentatively suggested that the Apollo might not be finished either.¹⁷ The shape of the mouths and the fact that they are not open may be additional reasons to once more put forward this suggestion. Moreover, the eyes lie not as deep as those of the other gods and the roundish outline of the face may be taken into account as well.

The dimensions of these two heads are considerably smaller than those of the other gods and that is also true for the set of heads on the West Terrace. The striking similarity between the Apollo and Antiochos heads may suggest a special bond between them, although this does not become clear from the position of the figures within the ensemble or from the inscription on the back.

The set of differences leads to a closer comparison with the figures on the West Terrace that had always been seen as different from the eastern statues. In fact, these statues show a far better sculptural quality than the East Terrace figures, with the exception of the two heads under discussion. It is thus attractive to suggest the possibility that the same workers who made the heads on the West Terrace produced these two heads on the East Terrace: sculptural style, colour and composition of limestone and dimensions are all alike. Both Antiochoi on the West and East Terraces consist of two layers: the head and the Armenian

tiara.¹⁸ If the proposal of the unfinished Antiochos (and possibly Apollo) of the East Terrace is true, this may provide a clue for a further phasing of the chronology of Antiochos' limestone project. The West Terrace might have been made later, forming the second element.

To support this idea some more indications can be taken into account.

- a. The quality of the West Terrace ensemble as a whole is better, both in stylistic and technical sense.
- b. Although the makers of the statues on the West Terrace miscalculated the effect of the bedrock regarding the stability of the statues in seismic situations and used this bedrock in the lower layers of the figures, they had a better understanding of how to construct the statues. The elements fit better into their structural organisation. It is striking that no dowels and pins were necessary to fix the heads, as the gravity points were well calculated in the rear of the heads, for which reason they stand with the backside more bent to the back.
- c. The creation of the platform took much more time: the East Terrace remained more or less in its original shape, as one may conclude from seeing the bedrock under the statues being less systematised and much higher than the level

of the terrace.¹⁹ The West Terrace never took its final shape, because the original part of the mountain at the southern edge was used for making gravel but never entirely removed.

If this is true, we must reconsider the meaning of Antiochos' inscription saying that he was old when he created the *hierothesion*. Were the statues indeed made in a short lapse of time and was this large text created simultaneously, or was the East Terrace arranged previously and did the text refer to the date of erection of the colossi on the Western Terrace in the first instance only?

A fascinating aspect of the king's representation is his youthfulness on the *dexiosis* slabs (Mithradates) and the two colossal portraits (Antiochos): he is beardless, more or less without age. This representation contrasts with that of the ancestral portraits on the sandstone reliefs, which have long beards. When we look at other Hellenistic dynasts in Anatolia like Mithradates of Pontos or Nikomedes of Bithinia, we observe that they are similarly beardless. R.R.R. Smith sees this as a sort of Romanisation and marks these dynasts as *philorhomaioi*.²⁰

3.4 Dispersion of artefacts from Nemrud Dağ (with Ellen Thiermann)

In the storerooms of the museum of Adıyaman are 62 large wooden crates with relief fragments and other pieces of tuffit (and also some limestone) from the *hierothesion* on Nemrud Dağ. In the 2003 campaign we were able to continue the documentation, planned to be finished next year. It is our aim to arrive at a complete inventory of this material, which is indispensable for the tuffit restoration project but also of archaeological interest. The final goal is a publication, including descriptions and photographic documentation of *all* sandstone material from Nemrud Dağ.

The restoration project of the tuffit statues and stelae on Nemrud Dağ aims at the documentation of the *status quo*, the preservation in appropriate conditions (which includes, for some pieces, the removal from the site) and restoration (see also section 4.1). The restoration will include the reunion and re-incorporation (where feasible and desirable) of the museum fragments and the *in situ* pieces of stelae and statues that are planned to be displayed in a future site museum. Although the tuffit remains have been dealt with by J.H. Young in a, as we have now been able to check, very precise and exemplary way, their present whereabouts and documentation is chaotic. As far as the reconstruction of, for instance, the ancestor reliefs is

concerned, during this campaign we found that little can be added to Young's publication. Young worked on the site and was probably present while the material was being unearthed. His interpretation of the fragments as belonging to a certain relief is thus based on an *in situ* situation of the archaeological material, which we now lack. However, changes in the state of preservation of the fragments in the Adıyaman museum, the lack of an inventory list that can be linked to Sanders 1996, and new pieces that have been brought to the museum since Goell's team left the site make an update of Young's study necessary. Although the large majority of the finds is stored in the Adıyaman museum, some other locations preserve fragments of tuffit reliefs from Nemrud Dağ or relevant secondary information (rubber squeezes, casts, photographs etc.): the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara, the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, the University of Münster and some places nearby the site. This material will be incorporated in the database and may hopefully be used within the restoration project.

A nice example of this 'fitting together the pieces' was recently presented to the archaeological world and is worth mentioning here.²¹ On the Western Terrace Herakles *dexiosis* stela, the upper part of the head of the king is at the present time missing. It has become clear that it was illicitly taken from the site. The piece recently returned, thanks to S. Şahin and the Archaeological Museum in Münster, to the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara.

4 CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION

4.1 The tuffit project

As had been decided in 2002 the five famous reliefs from the West Terrace (viz. the four *dexiosis* stelae and the lion horoscope) were to be removed to a temporary restoration laboratory as soon as possible. The severe climatological circumstances did not allow leaving them at the spot any longer - where Dörner had erected them in the early 1980s. The realisation of the infrastructure for the execution of the tuffit project, i.e. the building of a restoration house and a road from the West Terrace to this laboratory (necessary for the movements of the ENKA crane and truck that transported the reliefs to the laboratory), proved to be more difficult and time-consuming than we had expected and planned. However, in the 7th week of our campaign the road leading from the West

Terrace to the restoration house and the laboratory itself were finished. The building, prefabricated by ENKA, was placed on a rather flat area at the north flank of the mountain. It measures 13 x 6 m and is 6 m high (fig. 16). It has an electric winch inside with a capacity of 6.3 tons in order to make movements with the stone objects possible. Here, the five reliefs from the West Terrace were stored in the last week of July. The Kommagene and Herakles stelae which were broken off in the winter of 2001-2002 were moved in their actual horizontal position to the new accommodation and will remain so until restoration work starts, whereas the three other slabs could be installed in their original vertical arrangement along the northern wall of the house, resting firmly in frames made from the iron poles of the snow barrier.

In order to make transport possible, the restoration expert Selçuk Şener from Ankara University and three of his students, assisted by Eberhard Wendler, specialist in stone treatment, had carried out tests and realised a so-called pre-conservation. This means that the reliefs were treated in a way to make them removable. The stones were taped with cotton and glued with PIRIMAL AC-33 and at the day of moving they were given a last, temporary fixing layer of Cyclododecan ($C_{12}H_{24}$) that evaporated completely after a couple of hours. With help of the iron frames, the transport of the highly friable stelae could be realised (fig. 17).

When hoisting it could be observed that Dörner had used pins in the bottom of the lion horoscope, whereas the others, still possessing their original tongues at the beginning of the 1980s, were placed into the sockets of the basis slabs and fixed with a very hard cement. The tongue of the horoscope has been preserved and glued with epoxy. The lower part of the Zeus stela, broken off from the upper zone at the same place where Dörner had placed iron pins, was not removable because of that cement (see fig. 17, left).

4.2 The Limestone Project

As to the colossal statues on the East Terrace the stabilisation of the bedrock underneath and the structural improvement of the pieces themselves are the main points of concern. Furthermore, restoration of single blocks will be necessary. During the 2003 campaign the figure of Antiochos, statue C (see figs. 3-6 and 18-21) and the basis with the Eagle and the Lion at the northern side, statues H-I (see figs. 22-23) were subjects of treatment, whereas the restoration of the upper



Fig. 16. The temporary restoration laboratory provided by ENKA (photo J. Venneman).



Fig. 17. Hoisting of the Apollo dexiosis relief, West Terrace, the iron frame lying ready behind it (photo J. Venneman).

layers of the Kommagene was postponed to a following campaign.

Antiochos' three upper layers (from lap to shoulders) were entirely hoisted by the ENKA crane drivers as well as some of the frontal blocks of layers 1 and 2 (figs. 18-19). The stabilisation problem could be observed near the right foot of the king, where the side block of the throne had



Figs. 18-19. Hoisting of layer 6 and part of layer 5 of the statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace (photos J. Venneman).



Figs. 20-21. Southern side of the statue of Antiochos (C), East Terrace, before and after the restoration (photos J. Venneman).



Figs. 22-23. Reconstruction of the base of the statues of Eagle (H) and Lion (I), East Terrace: in progress and result at the end of the campaign (photos J. Venneman).

to be temporarily removed. Here, the bedrock was cleaned and the cavities were filled with pieces of local limestone fixed with cement mortar at the proposal of our structural engineer and seismic expert Predrag Gavrilovic. Cracks in front of the footstool were also cleaned and filled with stones and grout, finished with a thin upper layer of lime mortar.²²

The blocks that had been taken off were inspected by Kronewirth who repaired cracks in some of them with lime mortar. The greater cracks were restored more drastically: our restorer drilled holes of some 20-30 cm through the cracks' surfaces and filled these with fibreglass pins and epoxy.²³ One block, broken into two parts, was repaired by the same technique of fibreglass pins and epoxy, whereas the breaks were glued with SIKADUR B-52. Some blocks remained on the spot and could be put into their proper position by means of slight hoisting and pushing with a crick. The re-composition proceeded well, but because of strong winds we could not hoist easily. While putting the blocks into their original position, we could observe that they frequently show negligent mason's work, not being of precise forms and having uneven upper and lower surfaces (cf. section 3.3.1). Therefore, the bottoms sometimes had to be sustained with blades of lead in order to reach a well-levelled upper layer.

The re-erection of the king's head was also discussed: it consists of two parts (head and Armenian tiara) and was transferred in 2002 from its position behind the statue to the terrace. In both matters of statical/structural stability and conservation, this replacement would yield no serious problems according to our experts Gavrilovic and

Kronewirth. To ensure stability, however, the layers 5 (lap-upper body), 6 (shoulders) and 7-8 (head, tiara) should be connected with steel pins, a method that is not reversible. Moreover, the head needs extra treatments (large cracks in tiara should be repaired etc.). After several debates, all participants agreed that the point of reversibility forms the main argument against re-erection. A secondary disadvantage is that the blocks in the upper layers of the statue can no longer be hoisted, when fixed by the pins. On the other hand, the elements of the statues standing on the ground suffer more than those *in situ* (herbs, climbing tourists, vandalism and the like). We will study alternative methods and may come to a new decision in the future.

The work at the northern side of the ET concerned the base of the statues H and I, the guardian animals, Lion and Eagle, the latter of which was still half standing *in situ*. The blocks that had fallen down from the slope were collected and arranged next to the terrace, while the base was cleaned and restored. The interior of the base showed a crumbled surface on the place of the Lion that had to be removed in order to arrive at the solid bedrock some 40 cm below the base's level. This was treated with grout in order to close the remaining cracks in the rock and the lacuna caused by brittle of the carstic limestone was filled with lime stone pieces and grout to get a proper stabilisation (fig. 22). The area under the Eagle was less severely afflicted and was cleaned in the upper section only. The basis wall was restored and the interior refilled with some layers of stone in the ancient dry masonry technique. One block on the frontal side had broken and was pieced together by Kronewirth with glue, whilst another at the back has to be completed

with a newly hewn piece of limestone (figs. 22-23).

As to the Eagle, most pieces are in a good state of conservation. The left wing of the second layer was repaired with two fibreglass pins. The five blocks could be replaced at the last working day, July 29, but there was no time to complete the reconstruction including the head as the strong winds impeded further hoisting.

5 OUTLOOK FOR THE COMING YEARS

Firstly the Limestone Project. As the work on the northern side of the East Terrace could not be completed in 2003, we will continue the re-erection of the Eagle, including its head, and the Lion. At the same time, we hope to reconstruct the base of the guardian animals A and B at the southern side of the slope. Again, part of the Eagle (only one block) is still standing *in situ* whereas the other elements have fallen down the slope. The documentation of the last three years has ensured us that there are sufficient elements to rebuild these two statues.

As to the statues of the gods, the most endangered one is the Herakles statue. Apart from the numerous cracks in the blocks, the block of the lap (level 4) is broken into at least three pieces. The bedrock under the figure has brittle severely and must be inspected and reinforced.²⁴

Wendler's proposal to restore the surfaces of the limestone heads on the West Terrace and the inscriptions on the back of these colossi will be studied and, if feasible, we want to start the application of special material to replace the sandy particles in the interior of the limestone that cause cracks (water loosens the sand, freezes and creates small and big lacunae) by a chemical material.

Secondly, the Tuffit project. If Wendler's test on the sandstone elements yields good results, Şener will start to apply this material to the stelae in the laboratory. The lacking elements, many of which had been assembled by Theresa Goell and brought to the museum in Adiyaman, can be brought back and glued to the original spot. This is especially necessary for the Kommagene *dexiosis* that lacks more or less its entire relief surface.

Thirdly, the archaeological work. Besides the monitoring and documentation of the archaeological remains during the 2004 campaign, this work will focus on the tuffit remains on site and in the storerooms of the Adiyaman Museum. We need an inventory of both in order to be able to fully imply our restoration program for the lion horoscope, the *dexiosis* stelae and other sandstone decorations.

6 THERESA GOELL: A LIFE FOR NEMRUD DAĞ (ERIC M. MOORMANN)

Taking into account that nearly all 20th-century research at Nemrud Dağ had been carried out by one single woman, Theresa Goell, it was felt useful to do some research considering her in her archive files. The following gives some additions to the data already published by Donald Sanders. In fact, Sanders did a great job in organising and editing all paper files that Theresa Goell collected during her many stays at Nemrud Dağ. He presents a succinct but rather complete image of Goell's activities on the mountain and in the surroundings.²⁵

Theresa Goell had a long-lasting relationship with Harvard (see *infra*) for which reason her brother Kermit Goell bequeathed her archive to this institution in 1986, in particular to the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe, which holds other archives of alumnae in custody. As this library only collects personal documents, the archive was subdivided and the material concerning the scientific research of Kommagene was stored in the Semitic Museum at Harvard in the same year. Sanders' monograph did not include data from the small amount of papers in the Semitic Museum, but our research did not change the results as a whole. There are, however, some interesting items and numerous slides and photographs, mostly covering the illustrations in Sanders' book, but also giving details that he could not provide. Moreover, a few points which were puzzling during our first campaigns could be solved by studying this material, the occasion for which was made possible and agreeable thanks to Joseph Greene, assistant director of the museum, who was extremely helpful.²⁶

Theresa Bathseba Goell (1901-1985) was the second of three children, born in New York from a Jewish middle-class family and lived there for the greater part of her life excluding the periods during which she stayed abroad for her work.²⁷ She studied in Syracuse and was junior of Radcliffe at Harvard, when she married, in 1923, with the son of a famous rabbi, Cyrus Levinthal. The couple got one son, Jay Levinthal. Because of Cyrus' work the family moved to Cambridge UK, where Goell took the occasion to study architecture from 1926 to 1931. One of her tutors there was Theodore Fyfe who had worked as an architect at Knossos and probably inspired her to study archaeology. In 1933, she divorced and went to Palestina to work as an architect and took the first steps in archaeology at Gerasa, modern Jerash in Jordan. Later on, in the 1930s, she returned to New York

City with her son. Again, she worked as an architect in a designing studio, and during the Second World War she enrolled the Brooklyn Naval Yard, preparing models of war ships as the only woman among 1.200 men.

As a Radcliffe student, she had become aware of a serious handicap, viz. an increasing deafness, for which reason she learnt lip reading and even contacted the then famous Helen Keller, another alumna from Radcliffe. As soon as hearing aids came into being Goell profited from them, although the oldest generations were cumbersome to use because of their heavy batteries.

Despite the economic and social crises in her tormented life as young, divorced mother she did not abandon the idea of becoming an archaeologist. In 1939, she began to follow archaeology classes at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, with Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, who clearly inspired her to follow the path of study and to quit her job. Nevertheless, he advised her not to aspire to a PhD, as she would never enrol a university career because of her age and, still more, because of her deafness. As a topic, Lehmann suggested to read Humann and Puchstein's account on Nemrud Dağ forming quite an interesting theme for a paper. At various occasions, she would remember how he had inspired her to do so.²⁸ She also acted on his advice to stop working, albeit hesitantly, as she had been and wanted to remain an independent woman. However, for economic reasons she turned home and lived several years with her parents.

A great occasion was given to her when she was asked to join the American archaeological mission to Tarsus in South-eastern Turkey after the war, directed by Hetty Goldman from Princeton. This enterprising lady had started working there in 1934 and had carried out yearly campaigns until 1940, when the war made further investigations impossible. Goell travelled to Turkey at the end of 1946 and stayed there for three years, most of the time acting as mission's director because of Goldman's absence due to illness.

Before departure, she had promised the excavation's directory board not to marry (again) for at least two years: the mission had lost too many women for that reason! From the way Theresa Goell told that detail to Mrs. Latimer in the interview (see note 27), the reader may gather that she was an entirely independent person, not fearing any difficulty and willing to achieve great things in the same way men were presumed to do. Her career made her concentrate on that and not on family life any longer. The consequent use of her

proper family name Goell and the wish to be addressed as 'miss' underline this point. She often said that her sex was no problem when working in Turkey, as the local people saw her as *ana*, mother. She must have been a strong woman, not suffering from incommunities and even laughing at fellow-Americans who according to her were too weak. She integrated well into the local Kurdish society and conversed with them easily in their own language. Of special value is the atmospheric description of Goell's contacts with her local workmen by Kermit Goell.²⁹

It had been Lehmann who stimulated her to go to Tarsus, saying that she would come nearer to Nemrud. And, as a matter of fact, she succeeded in arriving there in 1947, despite countless difficulties. The account of her first visit has been reproduced in Sanders' Nemrud Dağ study.³⁰ In the summer of 1947 she travelled to Malatya, Gölbasi and Adıyaman from where she had her first glimpse of the peak. One day later, she arrived at the still tiny Yeni Kâhta, where she slept under giant portraits of Atatürk and İnönü and left five days later to Eski Kâhta. So she saw Karakuş and the Severan Çendere Bridge for the first time. From there, on horseback, she rode to Horik and the yayla, the summer resort of the local shepherds. 'The news of our excursion had spread like wildfire, and what had started as a lone scientific expedition, turned out to be a cavalcade of pilgrims going up to the sanctuary. Whilst I, on the one hand, was clinging for safety to my balking horse, the young boys were tapering around in Dionysiac frenzy, dancing up the mountain, or doing acrobatics on their animals.'³¹ The next morning, finally, the party reached the top from the eastern side and the spirit of the day before was still in vigour: 'Part of my objective in coming here was to make a "scientific" photographic record of the monument, but I found the boys who had run up the mountain ahead of us disporting among the Gods, climbing on their shoulders, lying in their laps and standing on their heads. I had great difficulty in taking "scientific" pictures....'³² Whereas the East Terrace made a great impression for its monumentality, the West Terrace did so, being 'a scene of utter desolation'. She was struck by the monument, especially the *dexiosis* stelae: 'These were found upside down in a sorry state of decomposition, a handy target for shepherds who whiled away their long watch by throwing stones at them, and it is amazing that any features like noses and eyes were left in tact. It is only due to the fortunate remoteness of Nemrud Dagh that it was spared the fate of other great Hellenistic cities

like Antioch, Tarsus, Ephesus and Pergamon; of becoming a stone quarry.³³

However, it would not be until 1953 that she could start working there. It was important to gain interest from sponsors and, above all, to get scientific credits from the American School of Oriental Research, in the person of its director, Carl H. Kraeling. The Bollingen Foundation, an organisation that was contacted by Lehmann, donated finances. In the following decades, her elder sister gave a lot of money ('Mr. and Mrs. Philip Godfrey'), whereas her brother Kermit, an architect like Goell, and his wife frequently participated in the campaigns. The 1963 campaign was sponsored by the National Geographic Society.

From the beginning onwards there were many problems, especially that of the provision of goods and work force: 'During the first season it became obvious that our problems would not be mainly archaeological, but those of adjustment to environment and conditions. Extremes of burning heat by day and bitter cold by night; the distance from a water source on Nemrud Dag; absence of trees for fuel and building shelter and equipment; wind, rain, hail and dust storms; the lurking bears all prevented our keeping to a hard and fast programme of work. Our workers were shepherds, unskilled labourers who had to be trained to use picks and shovels, and to work with men outside their own village without continuing their village and family feuds.'³⁴ Some of these problems did not vanish over the years!

Several details add colour to the description of her first ascent. She must have been one of the first western women ever to travel so far without company. Apparently, she was well considered by the local people. At Adıyaman she encountered a group of women. 'They seemed rather disgusted to find that everything I wore was cotton and not nylon, the eight wonder of the world in 1947. They even more deflated because I had no personal friends among the Hollywood stars, and could not give them any gossip about their special "pets" Clark Gable and Betty Grable.'³⁵ In the following pages, she rapidly summarizes the campaigns of 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956.

Goell turned back to Turkey many more times and had a fruitful cooperation with Friedrich Karl Dörner as we know from their joint publications and from her correspondence. 1973 was the last year Goell was on 'her' mountain, already at an age of 72 years. Later on, she lived in New York where she died after a long illness. Donald Sanders remembers his single encounter with her, shortly before her death in 1985.

Martha Lubell, a niece who is preparing a film on her aunt, 'Queen of the Mountain', characterizes Theresa Goell in a striking manner: 'Theresa, who was my aunt, lived most of her life as an outsider: divorced, a Jewish woman working among Muslim men, alone in a field dominated by men, hard of hearing, and without the required Ph.D. necessary for academic success. Yet, Theresa found her spiritual home in a tent on Nemrud Dag, not in the Brooklyn social circles of her wealthy and domineering immigrant father.'³⁶

Excavation methods

Sanders' volume does not reveal Goell's daily activities on the mountain, apart from the large number of local people involved and the enormous amounts of rubble moved from the Eastern and Western platforms. Unfortunately, no images of the situation before Goell's interventions are given apart from the 1947 pictures, which is especially problematic when one wants to evaluate the trustworthiness of her methods and of her reconstruction of architectural features like the 'Fire Altar' and the steps on the East Terrace.

A glance upon the pictures in the Goell archive makes immediately clear that she was an excellent photographer, and made fascinating photos on the mountain with her Leica. These show a clear romantic feeling of decay, mystery and Great Things To Be Discovered: the fallen colossal heads, the lion horoscope partly covered by three-dimensional guardian animals are paired with good overviews like that of the stelae on the West Terrace, lying upside down on the rubble, whereas their sockets are half-hidden under the gravel.³⁷ A great number of slides in iron boxes are still of surprisingly good quality, both as to photographing and conservation of the colours. Miss Goell wrote her comment on the paper frames or on stickers glued on iron ones.

The material in the Semitic Museum does not give many clues either, but some details may be observed.

The process of cleaning the East Terrace can be seen on a photo dated 1953, on which Miss Goell (left, top) looks at the work on or near the 'Fire Altar' while two workmen are cleaning the area south of the southern row of stelae sockets and altars.³⁸ Some detail photographs show the moment of the discovery of one of the Ancestor Stelae between the sockets (left) and the row of altars (right).³⁹ One sees the red-and-white pole underneath the two fragments of one stela, but no indication of a field grid whatsoever can be seen. This is also true for the detail photos of the same slab.⁴⁰

No grid or whatever sort of location system is plotted and we must fear that, therefore, there are no excavation plans. 1953 was the first of the many campaigns and apparently the system (or better: the lack of a system) is immediately illustrated here.

One picture shows the situation of the conservation of the 'Fire Altar', seen from the north and with parts of two sandstone eagles and one lion of the same material.⁴¹ It must be noted how much these statues deteriorated over the 50 years to follow their exposure here (although it does not become clear whether Goell discovered them under the debris or saw them standing and lying as they are on the photos).

Working Circumstances

To reach the monument is nowadays a relatively easy task: the road from Kâhta leads to the cafeteria from which one walks a stepped road to the East Terrace. From the Malatya side the access by motorcar is even easier, as one arrives only slightly lower than the East Terrace. In Goell's days, one had to arrive by foot or on the back of a donkey. Dörner, as a former cavalry officer, always used to go around the area on horseback.

As late as 1963 the Lerici team (see below) still had to arrive from Eski Kâhta by foot and with animals carrying their working tools: 'Early Tuesday morning, August 6 [viz. 1963], we left Eski Kâhta by foot and animal for Nemrud Dag and rested half way up the mountain at Horik, the shepherds' settlement. Finally, after a strenuous ascent, the group reached the Nemrud Dag camp in the late afternoon.'⁴²

Goell's publications

The archive contains many drafts of articles, some off-prints and several versions of her Master Thesis on Nemrud Dağ to be submitted at New York University in 1961, but never given to her jury. The manuscripts consist of thick heaps of thin paper, typewritten and copied with carbon paper a couple of times. Hand-written improvements show that these versions were never the last ones. All these texts were edited by Sanders.

In fact, Sanders also used the preliminary publications as far as necessary, but it may be useful to present them on their own.

The first article we know is from 1952 and predates the first campaign Goell made at the mountain.⁴³ She claims it to be 'a project unequalled in the ancient world. Still practically unknown to art historians, it has received the attention mainly of epigraphers, theologians, and astronomers.' The

data, known from Humann, Puchstein *et alii* are clearly exposed and Goell announces the conclusion of Otto Neugebauer pertaining the Lion Horoscope.⁴⁴ Furthermore, she tells about her first visit in 1947 and that in 1951. Goell recognizes a link with the 'Anatolian-Hittite tradition' (p. 141) she already knew of the Tarsus excavations. Although the seated position of the colossi is like that of the Branchidae at Miletus, the link with the eastern tradition of colossal statues at Carchemish and Sinçirli is much stronger. As to the conception of a tumulus tomb she refers to both Iranian and near-eastern traditions. Goell announces research on the spot in the near future. The position of Antiochos and Apollo are changed.⁴⁵

This first project, carried out from 24 Augustus to 1 October 1953 is shortly presented in the second publication, the official report in the Turkish archaeological gazetteer, as late as 1956.⁴⁶ The clearing away of the debris on the East Terrace has made clear that there was a stepped construction carrying tuffit reliefs, among which a lion horoscope, at the foot of the colossi. Another discovery is that of the 'Stepped Altar', measuring some 13x13 m, and the tuffit lion and eagle 'that originally surmounted its apex'. Furthermore, the ancestor reliefs and their altars were partly cleaned. As to the tuffit reliefs on the West Terrace - which is briefly described, as no work was carried out there - Goell remarked the deterioration of their surfaces and 'the rapid disintegration. The lion horoscope in particular has lost parts of its face, stars, and inscription, as it seems to be a special target for visitors hurling stones at it.'

This series of published reports was apparently not continued and neither this nor other reports give all aspects of the exploration. In a short, more or less popular article, Goell and Dörner describe the creation of a path behind the eastern colossi and the fabrications of squeezes by Goell's brother Kermit.⁴⁷ As a result, the head of Antiochos and a part of his tiara were found behind the statue.⁴⁸ Goell's hope to discover Antiochos' tomb led her to a large-scale removal of the gravel from the tumulus and the search for an entrance in 1953, 1954 and 1955. Even with the assistance of the mine engineer Heinrich Bürger, she did not succeed.⁴⁹ Another popular account in the 1955 *Illustrated London News* included a short contribution by Kermit Goell on the squeezes made from various inscriptions and relief decorations.⁵⁰

A 1957 report gives the first longer account of the work carried out between 1953 and 1956.⁵¹ This report contains the well-known plans of the mountain and its surroundings made by Heinrich

Brokamp in 1954. Goell clearly describes the remains of the 'Stepped Altar' and its surroundings. She also mentions her demolition of the traces in front of the altar.⁵² Much attention is paid to the discovery of the tomb. Goell maintains to have found the beginning of a tunnel made by robbers, but unfortunately she does not document the find itself and we can no longer reconstruct what it may have been. The deposition of the gravel unveiled a stepped structure of the living rock, made so in order to prevent the top layer from rolling down.⁵³ A detail we do not find in Sanders' book is the discovery of the quarry of the tuffit by the geologist H.G. Bachmann, to the east of the East Terrace.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, this interim report is too short to gain insight into either the precise working methods or the result gained during the three-month campaigns. The final report, which was announced several times, did not appear at all.

The altar remained a fascinating item. One year later it had become a 'Persian Fire Altar for observance of the Persian-oriented ritual of Antiochus who claimed descent from the Achaemenids'.⁵⁵

Thanks to her close contacts with Dörner, begun after the 1951 discoveries at Arsameia of the great inscriptions by both Goell and Dörner, she was introduced in Germany and gave lectures there.⁵⁶

A report to one of the sponsors reveals the difficulties encountered in 1953 (and presumably in the years after): 'For the survey of the *Hierotherision* of Antiochus I, camp was pitched at the eastern base of Nemrud Dag, by the only spring in the area. From here, it took about an hour and a half on foot and by animal to reach the site. Some forty-odd shepherds, unskilled in archaeological work, had to be trained for the demanding task of extracting the remaining fragments of the monument from the chaotic débris which covered the terraces. In addition to the difficulties of working with unskilled men, the extreme heat by day, cold by night, constant tempests, sandstorms, and early rain and hail were added obstacles warning the expedition that any future undertaking on Nemrud Dag would be attended by unusually physical conditions.'⁵⁷

The obsession to find the tomb of Antiochos, thought to be located inside the lining rock of the mountain, made Goell explore various methods. After the lack of success with the excavations behind the statues on the East Terrace⁵⁸ she involved members of the Istituto C.M. Lerici from Milan in 1963 to carry out geophysical research on the mountain. A grant of the National Geographic Society enabled Goell to finance it.⁵⁹ Goell's contacts with this institution dated back to around 1960

and had resulted in a popular contribution to the worldwide known *National Geographic Magazine* (Goell 1961). The Fondazione Lerici was well known at that time thanks to its discoveries of tombs in Tarquinia. Carlo M. Lerici did not come personally; Maurizio Girelli and Franco Brancaleoni, assisted by some of the geologists involved in previous campaigns, did the tests.⁶⁰ The short papers as well as other reports duly tell about the various methods used to detect the presence of cavities under the surface, but the results that Goell longed for were not reached. According to the 'Seismic Refraction Method', holes should have been found by measuring the effects of seismic movements provoked by dynamite explosions. The members of the Lerici team thought it of little value in this situation, but Goell hoped to gain insight into the shape of the mountain underneath the gravel.⁶¹ Despite the risks to damage the monument, some proofs were done with 50 kg of dynamite.⁶² Goell dwells upon the other two methods and their (equally) negative results, whereas the seismic method is mentioned shortly as to not to have produced results equal to its risky nature.⁶³ No pictures are given apart from images of the devices used for the two simple resistance methods.

The Lerici team encountered many problems (wind, wind noise disturbing the 'geophones') and more explosives were needed: 'With the first blasts, it was found that the rubble which comprises the surface and the peak of the tumulus, in addition to having a very low wave transmission velocity (which had been anticipated), absorbed energy to an exceptionally high degree. To have overcome these conditions required the use of explosive charges much greater than the quantities available. The quantity of explosive at hand was the maximum which Miss Goell could obtain from the Emniyet Müdürlüğü (Security Department) of the Turkish government in Ankara and bring into the militarily restricted zone of Adıyaman Vilayet.' No results whatsoever were booked.⁶⁴

'Further, the charges required to obtain good refracted signals would have had to be so large as to constitute a menace to the stability of the monument. Altogether, six profiles were run on the tumulus (Fig. 5: Profiles 1-6). The greatest obstacles were the low supply of explosives and the impossibility of using it in adequately large charges for fear of damaging the monument.'⁶⁵

In some publications it is observed that the Kommagene head was standing as late as 1959 or 1960 and that it had fallen some later year, before Goell came back. As a matter of fact, Goell still

took photographs of the complete statue, with the head on top, as late as 1963, the year the Lerici Foundation came to Nemrud Dağ. Goell, in the Latimer interview (see note 27), explains the damage as the consequence of lightning in 1964. Slides from 1964 onwards show a beheaded goddess.

The Kommagene is the only statue to be damaged in so severe a way, viz lacking the head and having the shoulder and rump layers consisting of sharply broken pieces only.⁶⁶ We established, when lifting the fragments of the two layers under the head from their position in 2002 and 2003, that the blocks had broken into several pieces, with sharp splits on the fracture planes. Various smaller fractions could be gathered, but re-piecing them will be a difficult job. When compared to fractures in other statues like the lap of the Herakles, the Kommagene blocks show sharper and fresher fracture areas than the other ones.

In a letter of 1964 to the mine expert Bürger, who had worked with her from the 1950s (see above) Goell expresses her concern as to the use of dynamite in one of the coming campaigns and she decides to refrain from it, as the risks are too high. As a matter of fact, during the 1964 campaign the use of dynamite was avoided, thanks to the (hopefully) better devices, but also: 'Not only is the risk of damage to fragile structures minimized, but in this case, because the site was part of a National Park area, the use of explosives was severely restricted by the Turkish Government.'⁶⁷

With no syllable, however, in all correspondence, private notes and publications, reference is made to the Kommagene or the Lerici project. It is only for the reason of data, coincidence with the Lerici work and the letter to Bürger that we may conclude that the circumstances were suspect. On the other hand, the Turkish government continued to give her permission for later campaigns, so that Goell was given (at least) the benefit of doubt to continue her work.

We do not want to suggest that the East Terrace Kommagene Head exploded on purpose. We fear that some splitter bombardment, caused by an explosion, hit the statue on weak points in the shoulder or breast layer and caused the crumbling down of the upper part. Remarkably and fortunately, the head did not suffer severely from its fall onto the back path, whereas - as stated - the two layers underneath were heavily damaged.

Another team member, Jeremy R. Hutt did further attempts to find the tomb entrance by means of geophysical methods in 1964, again sponsored by the National Geographic Society. As during

the previous campaign, no results whatever were produced. For that reason Goell concludes: 'Further exploration is a crying need.'⁶⁸ But, as far as we can see, she stopped working there and went back to the United States with a great delusion of not having found the last resting place of Antiochos. In later years she concentrated on the Arsameia project Dörner had already started and so contributed to the exploration of ancient Kommagene until 1973, her last visit to this area.

NOTES

¹ Composition of the UvA-RU-INF team: Herman A.G. Brijder and Eric M. Moormann, project managers, Miguel John Versluys, acting project manager, Louis van den Hengel, Ellen Thiermann and Juriaan Venne-man, Site Information System, all Universities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen; Anne ten Brink and Ernest Mols, prehistorians, Maurice L.A. Crijns, project coordinator, Jaap Groot, constructing engineer, all International Nemrud Foundation; Selçuk Şener, University of Ankara and Christoph Kronewirth, Trier, stone conservators; Predrag Gavrilovic, St. Cyrillus and Methodius University Skopje, structural engineer; Eberhard Wendler, Munich, stone conservation researcher. Temsilci İlknur Eryıldırım (Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, Ankara) and Ömer Faruk Türkan (Museum of Akşehir) acted as representatives of the Ministry of Culture of Turkey. We would like to thank the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism for its kind cooperation. The International Nemrud Foundation, Akbank (Istanbul), the Shell Company of Turkey Ltd, the Allard Pierson Foundation (Amsterdam) and the Universities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen provided financial support for the 2003 campaign. ENKA (Istanbul) funded the temporarily restoration laboratory and kindly put to our disposal the crane and its operators. Olivier Hekster (Merton College, Oxford/University of Nijmegen) was so kind to correct the English text.

² Moormann/Versluys 2003, 156-157, figs. 1-3.

³ Wall fragment of undeterminable shape and unknown date. Red, fully fired. 5 cm.

⁴ T. İlknur Eryıldırım, our representative for restoration, cleaned the head; it was brought to the archaeological museum of Adiyaman.

⁵ Cf. Stronach 1963.

⁶ Sanders 1996, 475-479, figs. 611-617.

⁷ 'L' means limestone, the number refers to the SIS.

⁸ 22 x 33 x 9 cm. It is visible on some of Goell's photographs dating to 1958: Sanders 1996, figs. 131-132, but is not mentioned in the text.

⁹ 30 x 28 x 20 cm.

¹⁰ Orlandos 1968, 57-58 (μοχλοβόθριον).

¹¹ Nylander 1970.

¹² At least, they are not mentioned in the long descriptions of the statues in Sanders 1996. The Goell archive at Harvard (see further section 3.5) contains one box of squeezes made in October 1961 by some 'M.M.' (box 42, nos 68-78). None of the text files, however, give descriptions or whatever sort of notes.

¹³ Our stone expert Christoph Kronewirth endorsed this suggestion.

¹⁴ Orlandos 1968, 84-87 'marques d'assemblage' (σήματα);

- Martin 1965, 225-231 with numerous examples. For the technical terms see Ginouvès/Martin 1985, 123. See also Hellmann 2002, 88-91 'marques et repères'.
- 15 Cf. O. van Nijf in Moormann/Versluys 2002, 106-107.
- 16 Moormann/Versluys 2003, figs. 6-12.
- 17 Moormann/Versluys 2002, 104 and note 87 (Moormann's idea only).
- 18 The schemes in Moormann/Versluys 2003, figs. 19-22 illustrate the number of layers. The other heads on the West Terrace do not show more elements; even the Kommagene has no socket for a kalathos, which, moreover, is hitherto missing. As to the ET Antiochos we were happy to find a small fragment of the upper edge of the tiara showing the triangles that imitate the feathers of the Armenian tiara (no. L 121, measuring 22 x 33.9 cm).
- 19 See also Moormann/Versluys 2002, 101.
- 20 Smith 1988, 104-106, 130-132; he does, however, not include the Commagenean portraits, treated at p. 102-104.
- 21 See N. Turhan, 'Antiochos'a ait baş parçası, in *Yitik Miras'ın Dönüş Öyküsü*, Ankara 2003, 186-189 (with photograph).
- 22 Grout is a fine sort of mortar that penetrates into the cracks. We used Grout-Harcı, YKS EMACO S55, approved by a laboratory test by Eberhard Wendler in Munich. The cement applied was Cimku Cimento ISO 9002.
- 23 This was done with the blocks L 92, 94, 96, 97a and 97b, 98, 99, and 100.
- 24 We did some provisory enforcement in the frontal zone in 2002 by filling the lacuna with limestone material in dry masonry.
- 25 Sanders 1996, xvi-xix.
- 26 I express my gratitude to Joseph A. Greene, Assistant Director, of the Semitic Museum, Harvard University, for his warm cooperation. All boxes that I wanted to consult were put at my disposal. The Faculty of Arts of the Radboud University of Nijmegen gave me a special grant to make the trip to Harvard. I am also deeply indebted to Donald Sanders who critically read a draught of this section and gave important comments. He just published an article on Goell's life and work: D.H. Sanders/D.W.J. Gill, Theresa B. Goell, in G.M. Cohen/M.S. Joukowsky (eds.) *Breaking Ground: pioneering women archaeologists*, Ann Arbor 2004, 482-524.
- 27 Much personal information could be found in an 'Interview by Rebecca H. Latimer in 1965', of which there is a typewritten copy in the correspondence concerning the Goell archive in the Semitic Museum at Harvard.
- 28 Goell 1952, 138; Goell 1957, 21.
- 29 Sanders 1996, xxxix-xliv: K. Goell, 'A Personal Story About My Sister'.
- 30 Sanders 1996, xxiv-xxx. There is one copy in Box FF of this untitled document in various drafts, ca. 25 pp.
- 31 Goell, memoir, p. 14.
- 32 Goell, memoir, p. 15.
- 33 Goell, memoir, p. 16-17.
- 34 Goell, memoir, p. 19.
- 35 Goell, memoir, p. 12.
- 36 I quote these lines from the film description Martha Lubell kindly sent me.
- 37 Box BB, photo 10B: 'Tumulus Tomb of Antiochus I, King of Commagene, on Nimrud Dagħ/Orthostat Relief on West Court showing [sic] Antiochus Holding Hand of His Syncretized Gods. Lion Horoscope to right.' This photo is reproduced upside down in Goell 1952, 144 fig. 12.
- 38 Box NN, photo 1) 53-II-12. On the back the following description is given: 'East Terrace. South wall with decomposed fragments of Greek ancestor stelae. Theresa Goell supervising cleaning of stepped pyramid platform from Fire Altar on east side of Court. August 1953.'
- 39 Box QQ G55-V-8, with text on back: 'East Terrace South Sockle I Greek Ancestor Stela fragments lying *in situ* - sandstone seen from east. New find 1953 (no inscription found on back when lifted in 1956).' As to dating the texts on the photo are confusing: '55' is the year of development and prints, '1956' concerns a later comment, so that 1953 must be the year in which the cleaning work was carried out.
- 40 Box QQ, photo G55-V-10 and G55-V-5, probably like a figure from 1953. The latter has the following text on its back: 'East Terrace South Sockle I - Greek Ancestor Stela - fragments lying *in situ* - sandstone seen from north.'
- 41 Box QQ, photo G55-XCIX-15 from 1953.
- 42 Lerici 1963, 17.
- 43 Goell 1952. In Goell 1952 and Goell 1956 the name 'Nimrud Dagħ' is used, in other publications always 'Nemrud Dagħ'.
- 44 Also in Goell/Dörner 1956, 41. Neugebauer's hypothesis was to be published as late as 1959. Cf. Sanders 1996, 172 for Goell's interpretation. See now M. Crijns in Moormann/Versluys 2002, 97-98.
- 45 Goell 1952, 142; Goell/Dörner 1956, 38. It will be her colleague J.H. Young who solves the problem of identification the young men's heads thanks to the distinction of the headgear (Young 1964; cf. Moormann/Versluys 2002, 102-103).
- 46 Goell 1956. Friedrich Karl Dörner, the only mentioned not-Turkish team member, was focusing on the inscriptions.
- 47 Goell/Dörner 1956, 43 with illustrations.
- 48 There are no illustrations of the exact findspot and find-context. The same is said in Goell 1958, 371. In all these publications the head is seen as that of Apollo, following the naming of the colossi themselves. Cf. note 45.
- 49 Goell/Dörner 1956, 43-44. Other engineers are mentioned in Goell 1957, 12 note 28 and 16 note 38.
- 50 Goell 1955 (especially on squeezes made at Arsameia ad Nymphaeum). These squeezes are in the archive of the Semitic Museum at Harvard University.
- 51 Goell 1958 is a report because of 'Grants No. 1610 (1953), \$2,000 and No. 2271 (1957), \$750' from the American Philosophical Society.
- 52 Goell 1957, 11-12 ('bird trap'). Cf. Moormann/Versluys 2002, 102.
- 53 Goell 1957, 12-14. Cf. the impressive photo in Goell/Dörner 1956, p. 42. This situation is no longer visible.
- 54 Goell 1957, 19. Cf. Moormann/Versluys 2002, 89.
- 55 Goell 1958, 370.
- 56 Goell 1959 is the result of a lecture at Münster in May 1959. As to the discoveries at Eski Kahta by Dörner and herself Goell 1958, 369.
- 57 Goell 1958, 369.
- 58 Other dig holes are visible behind the statues on the west terrace and in the northern flank of the tumulus, but it is not known when explorations at these spots had been effectuated. Apparently, Goell wanted to find entrances to the tomb at all quarters of the compass.
- 59 Goell 1968: 'Grant No. 398'.
- 60 Lerici 1963. As far as we know, no publication was made on the basis of these experimentations apart from the short description in Goell 1968.

- ⁶¹ Lericci 1963, 14.
⁶² Goell 1968, 88-93. Weight of dynamite in Lericci 1963, 16.
⁶³ Goell 1968, 101.
⁶⁴ Lericci 1963, 26-27, 28.
⁶⁵ Lericci 1963, 18-19. The figure referred to is lacking in the archive. Some writing errors have silently been corrected in this transcription. Cf. for this research Goell 1968, 88-93, fig. 4-5.
⁶⁶ The head had fallen behind the statue together with the back of the shoulder, whereas the other block fragments were still *in situ* (see for the shoulder Moormann/Versluys 2002, fig. 12). The elements lying on the terrace were moved with the crane to the front in 2002 (Moormann/Versluys 2003, 158), the others in 2003 (here p. 133).
⁶⁷ Goell/Hutt 1975, n.p. The illustration showing an overview of the East Terrace colossi shows Kommagene with her head on top.
⁶⁸ Goell/Hutt 1975, last sentence.

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The 'House of the Rape of Europa' at Cos *Proposals for a Contextual Study of the Decoration*

Francesco Sirano

The 'House of the Rape of Europa' in Cos stands as one of the most significant examples of residential building in the city (some 550 m²). It was inhabited 3rd century BC–3rd century AD and underwent periodic restoration, until it was destroyed in a disastrous landslide.

The archaeological investigations brought to light remains of wall decoration (about 35 m²) and part of the furnishings, notably seven marble statues. This paper presents some considerations concerning the overall decorative scheme of the house in the last phase of occupation. The involved materials are summarily illustrated and the various elements placed in context formulating a first comprehensive interpretation.*

The so-called 'House of the Rape of Europa' stands on the southern slopes of the acropolis of the city of Cos, just off the *decumanus maximus* (fig. 1). It takes its name from a mosaic found in one of the rooms depicting the well-known myth of Europa being carried off by Zeus in the guise of a bull.¹ It was discovered by chance in 1936 during work on a Turkish house on the site, subsequently demol-

ished (fig. 2). From 1937 to 1940 excavations were conducted under the supervision of L. Morricone, but ceased with the outbreak of war.² Although it was never completely explored, this house, covering some 550 m², stands as one of the most significant examples of an upper-class residential building on Cos. It was inhabited from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD and underwent

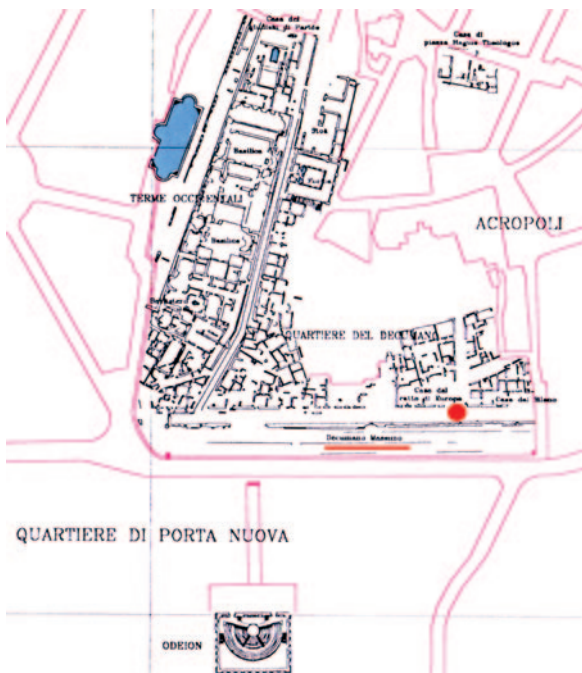


Fig. 1. Topographic situation of the House of the Rape of Europa at Cos (from Livadiotti/Rocco 1996).



Fig. 2. Room XI during excavation (SAIA F/M 423).

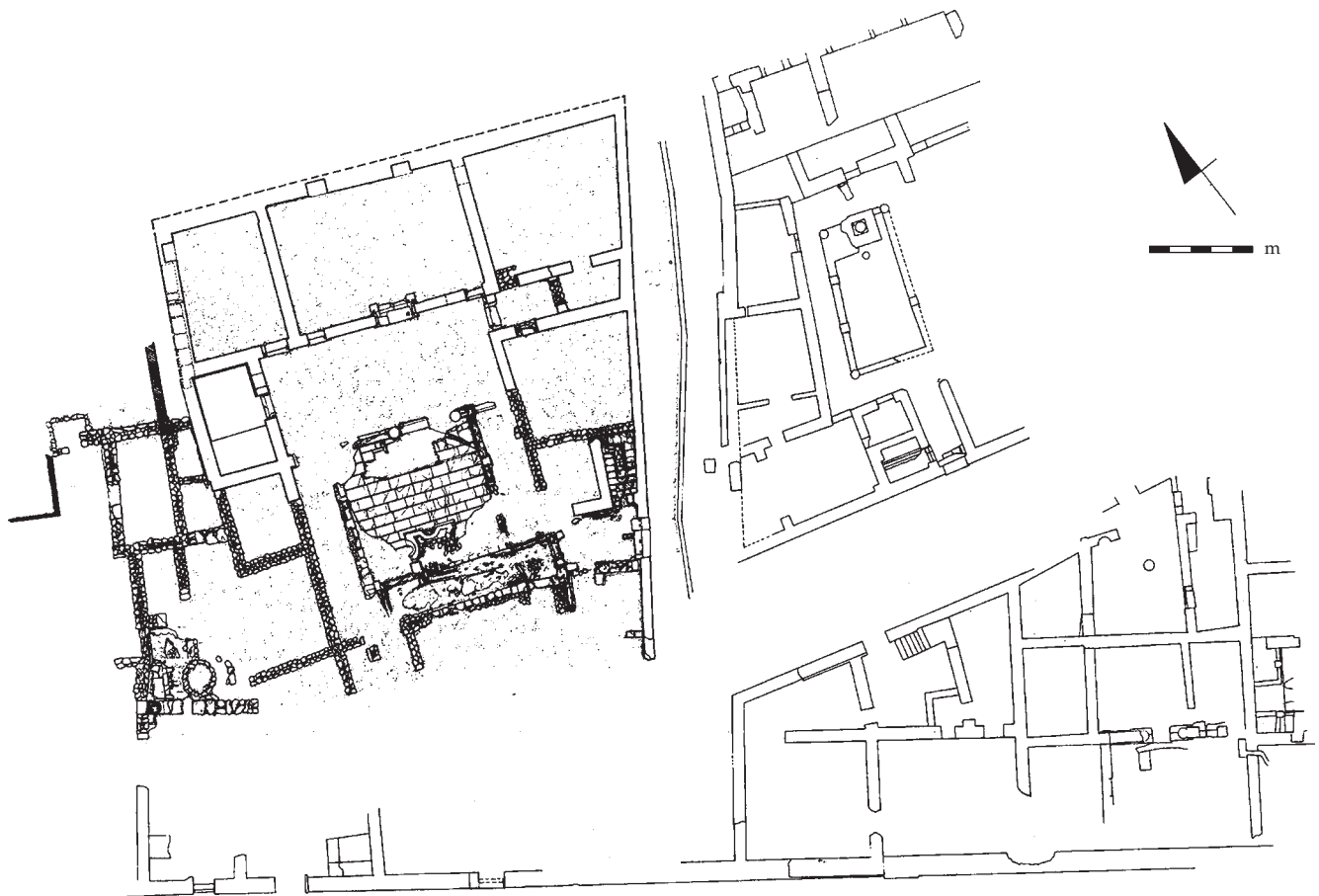


Fig. 3. Plan of present state with its location in quarter of the Decumanus.



*Fig. 4. The house seen from the south-west.
In the foreground courtyard XII.*

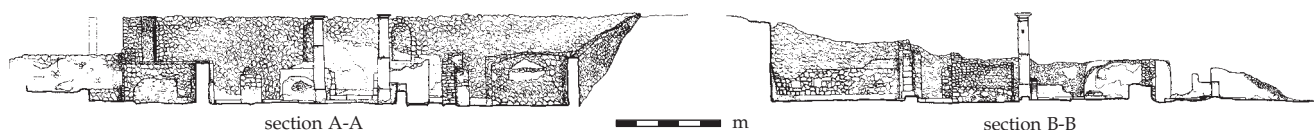
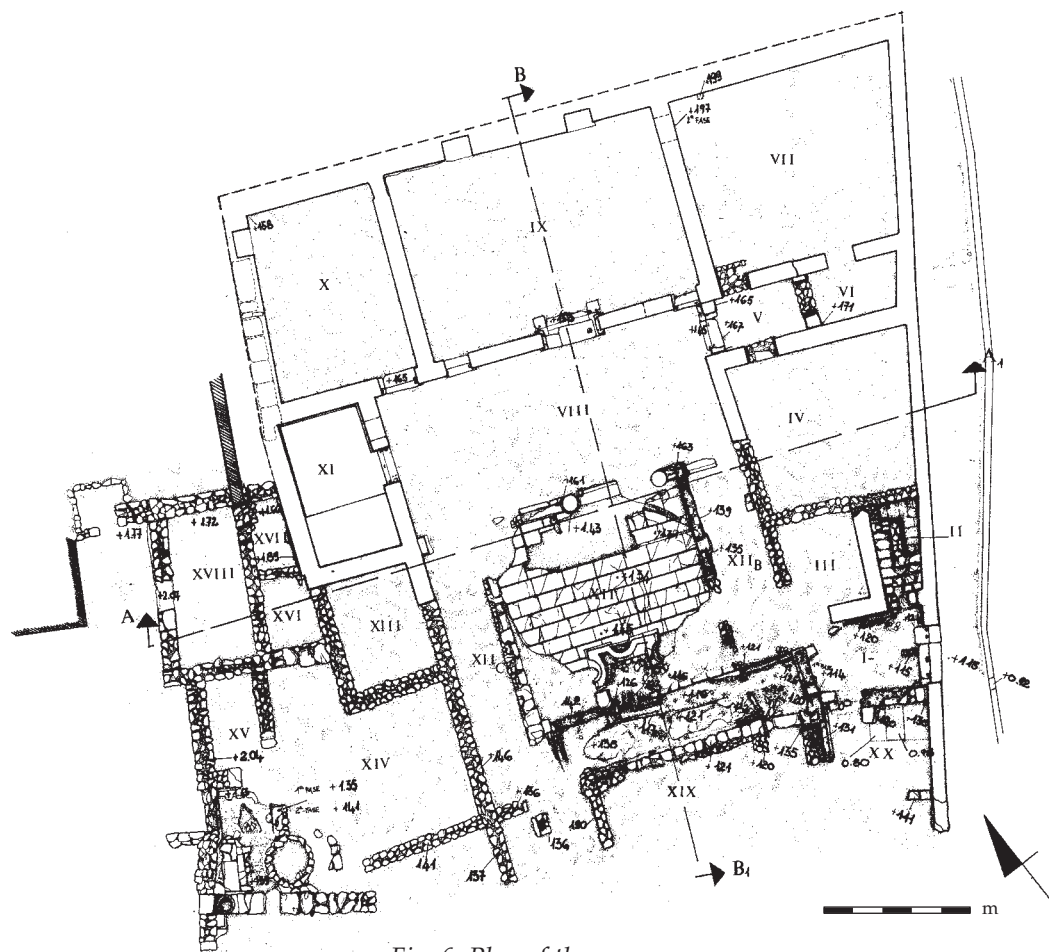


Fig. 5. The house seen from the north.

periodic restoration and restructuring, until it was finally destroyed in what appears to have been a disastrous landslide that brought down this side of the hill of the acropolis.

The archaeological investigations, conducted according to contemporary methodology, brought to light not only the above-mentioned mosaic but also substantial remains of wall decoration consisting mainly of frescoes (of which about 35 m² are extant) and part of the furnishings, notably seven marble statues.³

This paper⁴ presents some considerations concerning the overall decorative scheme of the house in the last phase of their occupation, using the most recent methodology.⁵ Each of the classes of material involved are illustrated, albeit summarily, and the various elements placed in context as the starting-point for formulating a comprehensive interpretation.⁶ We are particularly indebted to D. Parrish's stimulating application of this methodology to the so-called Hanghäuser at Ephesus,⁷ a context which draws comparison with Cos in both



chronological and geographical terms. We focus on a series of technical and iconographic features in the house, from which it emerges that successive owners, mainly the last one, set out to unify the various decorative categories and co-ordinate the schemes adorning the walls and the flooring, enhancing or defining the function of the different rooms. We nonetheless stress both the partial nature of our proposed interpretation - deriving from the circumstances in which the house was excavated and the collection/selection and conservation of the finds - and also the fact that we are only dealing with the final phase of its occupation.

THE MONUMENT

The house (figs. 3, 4, 5) occupies a whole *insula* of the quarter lying to the north of the *decumanus*. Its boundaries are marked to the north by the

acropolis, to the east by one of the *cardines* of the ancient city running down from the acropolis, to the south by the portico set back from the *decumanus*, and to the west by a series of structures built on top of each other in such a way as to render incomprehensible the original layout. The house was entered through a large double doorway opening onto the intersection of the *cardo* with a wider road coming in from the east. There may also have been an entrance to the south, along the *decumanus*.

The largest rooms were situated along the northern side, and two of them (IX, X; *figs. 6, 7*) opened off a broad colonnade (VIII). This also gave onto rooms V-VI, which led into two more sizeable rooms (IV, VII), both opening off the anteroom V. A spacious courtyard (XII), with a passageway running along all four sides, stood at the centre of the whole complex, linking the two distinct

halves. Room III opened off the eastern passageway, with a small arched alcove in the wall furthest from the courtyard. The southern part of the house, which has not been fully investigated, may well have contained the service rooms. This is indicated by the presence in room II of a large tank that channelled the household's sewage towards the main sewer system, and also by the fact that no kitchen has come to light.

The layout of the house corresponds to the type of the *Pastashaus*⁸ as it was configured in the mid-Hellenistic period and, as such, represents the single example thus far known on Cos. It can only be compared with the nearby House of the Mosaic Courtyard: both dwellings have a similar overall layout and some analogous rooms, although the courtyard in the House of the Rape of Europa is closer to the more evolved peristyle type.

The largest room (IX), with three doorways, large windows flanking the central door and two alcoves on the rear (northern) wall, is situated on the axis of the house and can be identified as an *oecus*, of the type developed on Delos; by late Hellenistic times this had become the main reception room, taking over some of the functions previously served by the *andron*.

Room IX was flanked by rooms VII and X, the former having access to the *oecus* by means of a corridor, blocked up during the final phase of the house's use. Room X has an alcove on the western wall.

Also in the northern section of the house is the so-called *cubiculum* of Europa (room XI; fig. 10), which received daylight through a small window in the eastern wall. About half its length is taken up by a concrete base, probably for a bed. This fact, together with the sumptuous decoration, suggests that this was the *thalamos* of the homeowner, even though literary sources invariably locate this room in the female quarters of a house.

On the courtyard the *pastas* (room VIII; fig. 4) was supported by two Doric columns of *prasino-petra* (tuff), the intervening space having been blocked up by the final phase of the house's existence. It was closed off from the passageways by doors, as we can see from the threshold on the eastern side. The courtyard was surrounded by a wall with windows providing light for the passageways and entrances. On the southern side a decorative fountain, fitted with terracotta ducts and lead piping, replaced a water tank or well, remains of which can still be seen just to the east of the fountain.

We can distinguish three types of building technique: the first, in regular blocks of *prasino-pe-*

tra (tuff), characterises the terracing to the north and west and the foundations of the western and southern sides of the colonnade. The second features a broad plinth made of gravel mixed with quicklime, surmounted by unbaked mudbricks or *pisé*, with pilasters in blocks of *amygdalopetra* (travertine) framing the doors along the northern side of the courtyard. This was the most common technique used in the house, known to us almost exclusively from the photographs taken at the time of its discovery, since wholesale restoration work was carried out as soon as the site was discovered. The eastern perimeter wall was similarly restored, but it appears to have been built using a third technique involving the same foundations and *pisé* structure reinforced with masonry pilasters.

The massive pilasters comprising blocks of *amygdalopetra* and the width of the walls point to the existence, at least on the northern side, of an upper storey⁹ reached from room VI, which we can identify as a stairwell.¹⁰

Establishing a date for the building is difficult, due to both the loss of material found in the excavations and the current impossibility of carrying out test trenches. We have to rely on a comparative analysis of the remains *in situ* and the photographic documentation made at the time of the excavations for a hypothetical reconstruction of the house's main phases. The range of building techniques points to a complex building history. The prevalence of walls in unbaked brick or *pisé* is what one would expect, for it was only natural that the walls should have been refurbished in the more recent phases of the house's existence.

We can confidently identify the walls in *prasino-petra* as being the oldest, corresponding to the original layout as a *Pastashaus*. This stone tended to be used for building at Cos during the Hellenistic age, and seems to occur in constructions dating from the Imperial era only as fill.¹¹ Other features dating from the 2nd century BC are the cornices on the jambs of the central door of the large *oecus*,¹² undoubtedly *in situ*, the fragments of flooring in the central courtyard obliterated by the drainage put in during the final phase of occupation, and a small number of architectural features which were recycled, notably the columns made of *prasino-petra*.¹³

Our dating of the first phase is corroborated by the layout of the house, analogous to types found at Olynthos,¹⁴ Priene¹⁵ and Delos dating from the 3rd-2nd century BC. The best comparisons are to be found in Delos, not only for the *pastas* configuration but also for the layout and structure of the various rooms, and in particular the *oecus* (IX): see

the Houses of Dionysos,¹⁶ the Dolphins,¹⁷ the Lake¹⁸ and the ground-floor Hermes.¹⁹ We should also recall that *pastas* houses were not built beyond the mid-Hellenistic period, being superseded by the peristyle house, which became standard in Roman times.²⁰

It is difficult to identify the subsequent phases of construction because, apart from two walls completely obliterated by the current ground level and the doorway mentioned above between rooms VII and IX,²¹ there is no disparity in the level of the foundations. Stratigraphic analysis also fails to reveal any chronological sequence, because what evidence there is of restructuring or partial restoration never amounts to significant rebuilding.²² All we can say is that at the moment when the house was destroyed by a landslide,²³ large-scale refurbishment seems to have been under way. This would account for the fact that the house was almost completely devoid of flooring. In cases where flooring was stripped by pillagers in subsequent periods, traces of underlay in some if not all rooms always remained, whereas here there is nothing. Furthermore the columns in *prasinopetra* of the *pastas* (VIII), whose plinths were found *in situ*,²⁴ lay on top of a restoration of the marble flooring of the courtyard involving the drainage system. This suggests that the columns of the *pastas* had lain dismantled for some time, perhaps because building work was also being carried out on part of the roof. Then again, there are signs of extensive repairs to the walls, such as the pockmarks in the plasterwork in room VIII in preparation for re-pointing, while the *opus sectile* in room IX obliterates wall painting in a style comparable to that still visible in room IV.

The latest date for occupation can be set at the middle of the 3rd century AD on the basis of information derived from the wall paintings and the mosaic of the Rape of Europa. The frescoes are closely related to those found in two adjacent houses - of the Mosaic Courtyard mentioned above and of the Silenus²⁵ - and also to frescoes that have come to light elsewhere in the city. On the basis of recent excavations, the latter have been dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD.²⁶ Comparisons with wall paintings found outside Cos in Athens,²⁷ Corinth,²⁸ Rome,²⁹ Ostia³⁰ and above all Ephesus,³¹ suggest that they date from no later than the first half of the 3rd century AD. The same goes for the mosaic:³² it appears to be a product of the workshop that flourished during the Severan period and made the famous mosaic of the Judgement of Paris found nearby in the so-called district of the Western Baths.³³

DECORATION: MEDIUM, MORPHOLOGY, DISTRIBUTION, SIGHT LINES

This last period of occupation, during the first half of the 3rd century AD, is the subject of the following observations. It seems highly likely that when the house was destroyed, restoration work was in progress. However, it is very difficult to establish whether the appearance of the house as it came to light in the 1930s corresponded to what remained from the previous phase of occupation or rather to the renovation work that had been carried out but not completed. As we have mentioned, a comparative study of the remains *in situ*, preceded by scrupulous cleaning of the excavation area and complemented by the archive documentation, suggests that we are in the presence of renovated structures. In some rooms the décor is almost complete,³⁴ in most cases with wall painting overlying previous decoration,³⁵ while in others it is easy to recognise signs of work in progress.³⁶ Thus it appears that the following considerations refer to renovation that was only partially completed, but which on analysis corresponds to an organic overall design. As will become apparent, this design reflected to some extent the taste and cultural proclivities of Cos society in the mid-Imperial era, while also saying something about the householder's own personal preferences.

In considering the material used for the house's decoration, it is striking that little use was made of marble, traditionally a sign of affluence on account both of its intrinsic value (notably polychrome and rare varieties) and of the skilled techniques required to work it.³⁷

Only three of the thresholds in this house are in marble; all the others were in the more commonplace *sideropetra* (lava stone). The three were located in the main entrance from the street, the *thalamos* (XI) and the central doorway of the main *oecus* (IX; fig. 8). Marble featured most prevalently in the latter room, the northern wall being decorated with sophisticated marble encrustations, known to us from the traces left in the *cocciopesto* preparatory layer (fig. 9). They highlighted the different tiers of an architectonic decorative scheme featuring a projecting plinth, a socle with large slabs in imitation of orthostats supported by metal staples, a band bordered by listels, and astragals with parastades on Ionic plinths flanking niches and rectangular panels. The decorative function of this northern wall, facing the doorways, was further enhanced by the substantial threshold mentioned above and the marble doorjambs. The Corinthian capitals found here during excavation probably

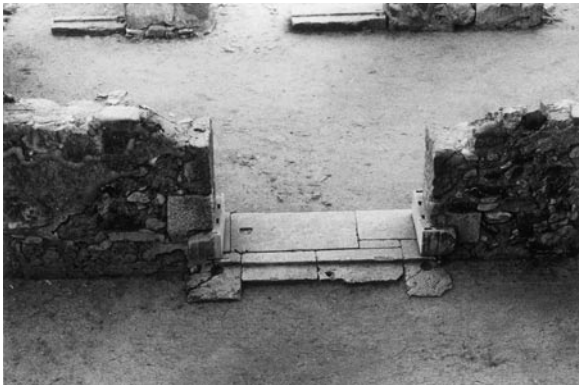


Fig. 8. Room IX, detail of central door and jambs in marble. Photo Quaresima.



Fig. 9. Room IX, north wall, seen from the west (SAIA M/F 439). See rendering in *cocciopesto* for cladding in *opus sectile* and alcoves.



Fig. 10. Room XI. Seen from the east (from Morricone 1950, fig. 64).



Fig. 11. Room XI, detail of painting on east wall.

added to the imposing appearance of the main doorway of the *oecus*.

Marble was also employed in the *pastas* in the band of small slabs running round the plinth of the walls of rooms IX and X. In room XI the concrete base occupying the southern side of the room was clad in marble, while the western wall was adorned with a projecting marble plinth. This side of the room, visible through the doorway, was further embellished by alternating rectangular tiles in white and cipollino marble, creating an impressive *chiaroscuro* effect.

The central courtyard was paved throughout in marble, as befitted the centrepiece which provided light and air to the whole house. We can note that, following work on the drainage system, marble was once again installed, obviously so as not to detract from the overall effect. The elaborately wrought fountain standing on the southern side of the courtyard was embellished with polychrome marble, a clear sign of the prestige of the house (fig. 4).³⁸



Fig. 12 a-b. Room XI. Details of painting on west wall.

In addition to the real thing, we must not overlook what might nowadays be referred to as ‘virtual marble’, the slabs of polychrome marble painted round the dado in room X (figs. 13, 13a). This was a time-honoured expedient for faking the use of the rare and costly building material, dating back at least to the period of the so-called First Style of Pompeian wall painting.

Finally the dado in room VII is very striking for its combination of raised marble panels on the eastern and western walls with two rows of regular blocks on the northern wall, apparently a conscious echo of the fact that this wall was itself made of such blocks of *prasinopetra*.

Most of the wall decoration in the house is painted, and while it is characterised by an overall stylistic and figurative unity, there is nonetheless an interesting diversity of formal design. The customary Pompeian three-tiered scheme is adopted,³⁹ the middle band featuring large figured panels interspersed with smaller panels bearing medallions, genre scenes and simple moulding or flower garlands.

The wall painting in room XI⁴⁰ (figs. 10, 11, 12a-b)

is particularly well preserved: a low pink dado overlaid with plant tendrils runs round all four walls; the middle area has monochrome panels in red or yellow, framed by architectonic designs and medallions with female protomes which may allude to the muses (the one holding a diptych could be Clio). The succession of panels is interrupted on the western wall by large paintings featuring dancers (fig. 12b). The spare and simplified architectonic schemes comprise a banded architrave surmounted by a segmental arch with alternating white and green voussoirs (fig. 11). The composition culminates in a pergola of vines on a white background, with birds perched in it (fig. 12b). Apart from the monochrome panels, the painting in this room is characterised by cold colours, well suited to a room that would have been rather dim, with light entering from a single small window on the eastern wall and through the doorway. We can note that the paintings of the dancers adorned the wall opposite the window.

The decorative scheme of room X is on an altogether grander scale. Here the middle band comprises large panels featuring different subjects:



Fig. 13. Room X, west wall immediately post-excavation (F/M 446).

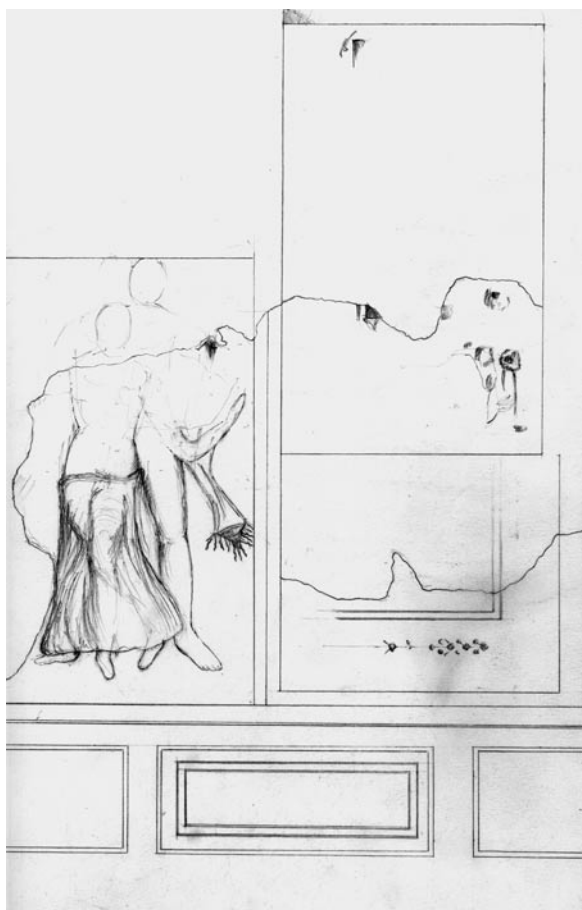


Fig. 13a. Room X, west wall, sketch of lay-out (scale 1:21 reduced from 1:10; drawing Claudio Frigerio).

small genre scenes, monochrome panels overlaid with floral motifs, and dancing figures (figs. 13, 13a). Two couples adorn the walls facing the door, close to each other, giving a visitor entering the room the impression of life-size portraiture. The faint trace of a man's foot found on the eastern wall suggests that it might have featured a third pair of dancers. A striking feature situated between the two extant couples is a rectangular niche with arch head standing 1.60 m. above floor level. The inner walls of the niche are decorated with a cascade of polychrome flowers on a white background; at the base, as if to highlight this feature of the room, is a painted length of cloth or carpet, with flowering tendrils on a red background. The same cloth adorns the wall opposite, although there is no sign of another corresponding niche. The bright colours of the imitation cloth and marble on the dado and the delicate rendering of the monochrome panels with flowering tendrils testify to the elegance and quality of the workmanship of this decoration.

The wall painting in room II is quite different in subject matter, but no less accomplished. The location of this room, next to the entrance of the

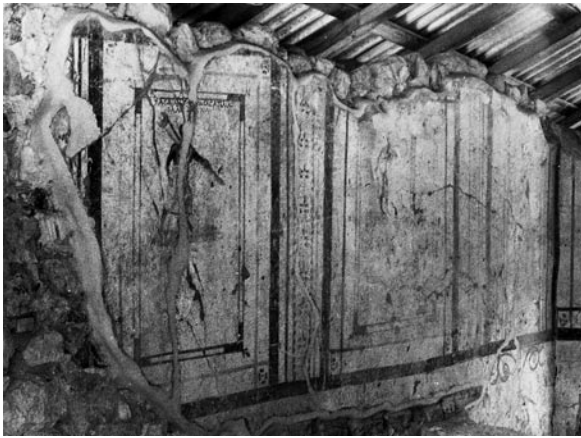


Fig. 14a. Room II, east wall.

Fig. 14b. Room II, east wall, detail.

Fig. 14c. Room II, west wall, detail of dado.



house, and the presence of a sump indicate that it was a toilet. The decoration features a tall dado, with tendrils on a light background, some panels with floral motifs and others with small caricatured figures surmounted by a broad monochrome band (fig. 14).⁴¹ Two figures, in simple garb, are holding objects that presumably identified them; a third, elderly man leans on a stick near a sort of stele. Captions painted in black illustrated the scene. Only one has come down to us, a maxim that reads (fig. 14b): τὰς δώδε[κ]ας ὥρας ἅπασας ὅλας τρέ[χ]ω alluding to the activity of the figure bearing a sort of sundial on his back, perhaps a personification of Time.⁴²

The highest quality painting is found in room IV, although it is marred by extensive lacunae (fig. 15a/b). The customary pink socle with tendrils is surmounted by a complex ensemble with the figure of a woman as the focus of attention. Around her there are architectonic perspectives with small scenes interspersed with monochrome panels adorned with flowering tendrils. The skilful handling of perspective in the architectonic schemes and the discreet and elegant use of colour and highlighting, particularly in the delicate, virtually life-size female nudes (fig. 15a), set these decorations apart from all the others we have considered. The small scenes are particularly interesting,

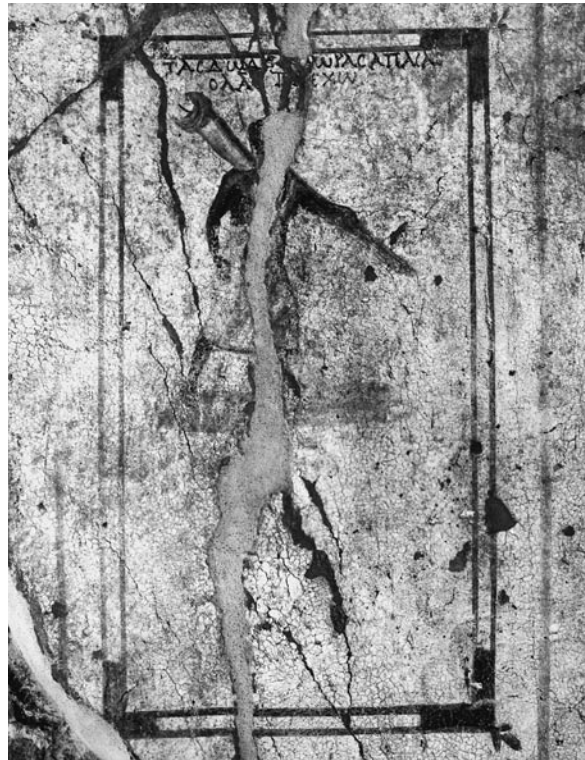


Fig. 15a. Room IV, east wall, detail of central panel.



Fig. 15b. Room IV, north wall, detail of architectonic schemes.



Fig. 16. Passageway XIIc, west wall.

even though we have no more than scant fragments. One shows the roofs of monumental buildings and houses, the other a seascape and a sort of cave or grotto, thronged with tiny figures, possibly referring to a mythological scene.

The state of preservation of the other rooms makes it impossible to say much about the wall decoration in the rest of the house. There is evidence of painted plasterwork and large monochrome panels in the entrance hall (I), along the side colonnades and in the *pastas* (VIII), suggesting that the walls of the house were painted throughout. The only indications we have of the quality of these decorations are the medallion with the scene of the young Hercules strangling the snakes (fig. 16), at the start of the western passageway (XIIc), and the original photographic documentation showing wall painting (room III)⁴³ and, more rarely, scenes with figures (room VII).⁴⁴

Finally we must note that some rooms were found to have overlying decorative schemes. Rather than dating from different periods, these seem to have been due to simple redecoration carried out in the space of a few years. This seems to be the case for the plasterwork on the northern wall of the *cubiculum* (XI), left partially visible following the disappearance of subsequent layers, showing stylistic analogies with the smaller panels

in room II, and also for the painting photographed during excavation of the northern wall of the main *oecus* (IX),⁴⁵ obliterated by the marble facing introduced in the last years of occupation. In this case what we can glean from the photographs looks analogous to the decoration in room IV.

Turning to mosaics, the only extant remains are a fragment comprising white marble *tesserae* in the western part of the house and the floor featuring the Rape of Europa in room XI (figs. 10, 17).⁴⁶ The floor comprises three adjacent panels: the smallest one lies in the doorway, the largest has an ivy tendril running round three sides of the central scene, inscribed in a simple polychrome guilloche border, and the third one, featuring three geometric panels, occupies the northern side of the room. The protagonists of the scene, Europa, Zeus in the guise of a bull and Eros (or Hymenaios) bearing a torch, float above the sea in a diagonal line moving from right to left. The colours used are pastel shades of red, pink, white, green and blue that harmonise with the colour scheme of the room's wall paintings described above.

The asymmetrical layout denotes careful attention to the mosaic decoration of the room. Not only is the available space exploited to the full, but the mythological scene takes centre stage, placed not to benefit the occupant lying on the



Fig. 17. Room XI, mosaic of the Rape of Europa.

bed but so as to impress whoever looked into the room from the doorway.

Our findings so far indicate that the decorative mediums (marble, imitation marble, wall painting, mosaic) present a hierarchy intended to enhance the northern part of the house and the rooms opening off the *pastas* (fig. 6).⁴⁷ Within this nucleus particular importance was given to the main *oecus* (IX) and the adjacent rooms VII and X, while room XI was also attributed a certain distinction. We can also detect some expedients that rule out any arbitrariness in the distribution of the decorative elements, for everything was calculated to make the maximum impact on a visitor to the house. This is surely the only explanation for the orientation of the mosaic of the Rape of Europa, the magnificence of the central doorway of room IX, and also the immediate impact of the dancing couples in room X.

These expedients take on even more significance when viewed in relation to the organization of the entrances. As we have seen, the *pastas* was the focal point for the whole house, reached by walking in a straight line along the passageways that had doors at the far end. It could not be entered directly from the courtyard because its columns had been blocked up. On the contrary, the northern sector of the house afforded greater freedom of movement by means of circular or alternative routes, with the only intercommunicating rooms in the house (V-IV, V-VI, VII-IX).

In conclusion we can note that none of the more elaborate decoration would have been visible to visitors arriving directly in the *pastas*. They were designed to impress people moving through the northern sector of the house, even if they merely paused on the threshold of the various rooms.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE REPERTOIRE OF DECORATIONS

Is it possible to establish whether in the decoration of the house there was a deliberate intent to co-ordinate the flooring with the wall painting so as to create an overall visual effect? If so, did this also extend to the furnishings?

A good starting-point for such considerations is room XI. When the decorative scheme involving mosaic and painting is viewed as a whole, we can answer the first of our questions in the affirmative (figs. 10, 12a). There are several elements that link the two mediums. The ivy tendril on the border of the mosaic showing the Rape of Europa recurs on the dado of the wall painting - surely no mere coincidence. On the marble plinth two small slabs of cipollino marble frame the dancer depicted to the right of the doorway. Again, the alternation of white and green features on both the plinth and the painted voussoirs of the arches in the architectonic schemes.

The optical illusion tending to confuse different materials recurs in the main *oecus* (IX; fig. 9), where the projecting marble plinth on the northern wall, which is decorated with marble encrustations, continues round the painted base of the other three walls. This has the dual effect of giving unity to the four walls and of focusing attention on the sumptuous rear wall with its alcoves. The same optical illusion is used in the *pastas*, where the stretch of wall corresponding to the external façades of rooms VII, IX and X features a course of marble tiles beneath painted plasterwork, a distinctive treatment that sets the northern side apart from the rest of the entrance hall.

The whole question becomes more intricate, and interesting, when we turn our attention to the furnishings, and in particular the sculptures. Even if, as it will be demonstrated with the following observations, the statues come from different ateliers⁴⁸ and are of different age (between the second half of the 1st and the beginning of the 3rd century AD), nevertheless the spot finds give evidence that they were ready for use in the refurbishment of the house, and we cannot exclude, of course, that some of them had already been there.⁴⁹ In any case each statue had been collected with great care not merely to satisfy the taste of the owner: the represented subjects were intended both to provide harmonic splendor with the decoration of the house, and also to emphasize the prevalent function of the principal rooms.

Although all the statues were found lying in the *pastas*, we can deduce both from the documenta-



Fig. 18. *Dionysos, Satyr and Pan* (Mus. Inv. 94).

Fig. 19. *Artemis* (Mus. Inv. 97).

Fig. 20. *Aesculapius* (Mus. Inv. 101).

Fig. 21. *Hygieia* (Mus. Inv. 98).

tion of the excavations and from our assessment of the remains in situ the likely whereabouts of at least some of them.

This is the case in particular for the four three-quarter length sculptures of gods and goddesses: a group featuring Dionysos, Satyr and Pan (fig. 18);⁵⁰ Artemis (fig. 19);⁵¹ Aesculapius (fig. 20);⁵² Hygieia (fig. 21).⁵³ In the northern sector of the house we know of three alcoves which would have held sculptures: in room X, where the alcove is located in the north western corner; and in room IX, where there are two symmetrical alcoves in the back wall. It is significant that Morricone recorded the head of Dionysos being found 'on the floor' of room X.⁵⁴ He himself noted that the dimensions of the group correspond perfectly to the alcove in this room, and we can add that its placement here fits in admirably with the overall iconographic scheme.

Dionysos is portrayed drunk, slumped in the arms of the satyr, the *kantharos* now empty. The off-balance pose of the god and his assistant immediately bring to mind the positions of the dancing couples depicted on the wall on either side of the alcove, where the men are seen half naked with their legs straddled like drunkards, as they embrace (or accompany?) their partners standing on tiptoe.⁵⁵

The fact that these couples were depicted on either side of the alcove argues strongly in favour of a single decorative scheme for painting and sculpture.⁵⁶ Moreover this scheme echoes an iconographic tradition featuring representations of a drunken Dionysos supported by satyrs and surrounded by dancing maenads, familiar from reliefs of the same era.⁵⁷ We can rule out the possibility that this alcove would have contained the statue of Artemis: the austere huntress would hardly have been at home in the company of the feckless dancers. As for the other two sculptures, Aesculapius and Hygieia, we shall discuss them below, but the fact that they are traditionally depicted together suggests that they would have stood in the two alcoves in the main *oecus* (IX).

At this point we might ask whether these placements were merely a matter of aesthetic considerations or whether they did not involve some more symbolic significance. It is striking that Dionysian subject matter also features in room XI, where as we said the decoration comprises dancers alternating with medallions of the muses. Here the tendrils on the dado (which could allude to the thyrsus) and the vine branches overarching the composition are clear allusions to the realm of Bacchus. This was entirely appropriate for a room that, as we have seen, the bed base indicates to have been a *thalamos*. Again, the centrepiece of the marble flooring showing the Rape of Europa celebrates an amorous enterprise that was particularly fruitful for humanity.

The relationship of Zeus and Europa began to feature in domestic décors in the 1st century AD, notably in rooms associated with procreation,⁵⁸ and it was rich in allusions to the realms of both Aphrodite and Dionysos. On Cos the episode takes on special connotations, or rather heightened significance, since the myth of Europa is associated not only with Asia Minor but in particular with the genealogies recounting the foundation of the island, namely the saga of Merops,⁵⁹ to which we shall return below.

In the light of our observations, we are struck both by the close proximity of room X and the *cubiculum* XI, and by their location within the house as a whole, in the 'public', reception area but not immediately accessible. In particular, unlike the adjacent rooms VII and IX, which are intercommunicating and accessible through respectively two and three doorways,⁶⁰ access to room X is limited to a single door, giving the clear impression that this room had a function which was in some way linked to the Dionysiac subject matter we have identified. This impression is reinforced by the recurrence, in very similar terms, of the same Dionysiac subjects in another building situated less than 100 metres from the House of the Rape of Europa. Known as the House of the Mosaic of the Silenus,⁶¹ it has never been fully investigated, and we do not really know what its function was. The largest room, repeatedly rebuilt and evidently one of the entrances at the time the building fell into disuse, is adorned with a mosaic featuring a drunken Silenus in the central panel, and around it, scenes of hunting and gladiatorial combat.

These two pastimes are depicted together in other domestic contexts in Eastern Greece, for example at Cos in the celebrated mosaic of the Judgement of Paris, in the area of the Western Baths.⁶² Here the surrounding walls are decorated with dancing couples very like the ones in room X of the House of the Rape of Europa, with masks on the walls opposite them. In the north-eastern corner of this room a rectangular plinth is probably what remains of an altar, suggesting that here the Dionysiac décor may actually have denoted a religious function.

Allusions to Bacchus have also been identified in the decorative schemes in the largest residence known to us at Cos, the Roman House,⁶³ standing close to the agora. More generally, Darmon has argued convincingly for a link between the Dionysiac motifs featured in domestic decoration and the procreative function of the family or the occupants of a house. There is plenty of supporting evidence to be found throughout the Mediterranean.⁶⁴

In this context the epigraphic evidence for the existence of domestic orgiastic cults in Cos in late Hellenistic and early Imperial times is highly significant.⁶⁵ There seem to be indications of such a cult in both the Houses of Europa and the Silenus, although in different ways: in the former it was restricted to the more inaccessible sector of the householder, while in the latter it took place in a room opening off the street and thus could have been in some way public.

We can begin to delineate a phenomenon that, rather than being a 'decorative programme' - a misused concept that cannot be applied indiscriminately to a whole range of contexts - undoubtedly reflects householders' tastes and choices in décor. These tastes went hand in hand with the cultural tendencies of the upper middle classes found throughout the provinces of the Empire. When we come to look closer, we can see how specific thematic and iconographic choices tend to draw not only on local cults but also on the most significant and peculiar mythological traditions current on Cos.

To get back to the decorative context of the House of the Rape of Europa, we can see how both the decoration and the furnishing of the *pastas* (room VIII) and the *oecus* behind it (IX) feature motifs that are directly linked to the official, representative aspects of life in the house. In the case of the *pastas* (room VIII), the allusion to local mythology is both overt and elegant. We know from the documentation of the excavations that this room was adorned with the statues of Hermes and Artemis. The notes Morricone kept of his dig record that the latter stood in the western doorway, converted into an alcove. Photographic records of the excavations show that a matching alcove had been made out of the eastern doorway, with the female portrait inv. 100 (fig. 22)⁶⁶ set up opposite Artemis.



Fig. 22. Hermes and portrait statue inv. 100 during the excavations (SAIA M/F 639).



Fig. 23. *Hermes Eumelios* (Mus. Inv. 91).

Fig. 24. *Portrait statue* (Mus. Inv. 100).

Fig. 25. *Portrait statue* (Mus. Inv. 95).

Hermes (fig. 23) is depicted seated with a ram beside him, a very rare representation associated with the *epiclesis* of Eumelios, which formed part of the Hermaic cult as practised in Cos.⁶⁷ In the light of what we know about this local cult, the pairing of Hermes and Artemis has an undoubted significance, since both divinities played a leading role in the major local saga celebrating the progeny of Merops and the institution of the cult of Hermes Eumelios.

The origins of the cult are illustrated in *Metamorphosis* XV of Antoninus Liberalis, an author writing in the 2nd-3rd century AD who drew on Boos, an obscure Hellenistic source containing information about the religious history of Cos. The story goes that Meropis, Byssa and Agron, daughters of Eumelos and descendants of Merops, were turned into birds as a punishment for their impious behaviour towards Hermes, Artemis and Athena. The three divinities had disguised themselves as shepherd and shepherdesses and called on Eumelos with the aim of getting the daughters to make sacrifices to them.⁶⁸

In view of the clear evocation of Hermes Eumelios, the god ποιμένας ἔχων στολήν of Antoninus Liberalis,⁶⁹ embodied in the statue of the House of the Rape of Europa, and in spite of the fact that no statue of Athena was found, the house décor does seem to have alluded to the myth, not least because of the association between this mythical genealogy and the progeny of Europa, evoked by the mosaic given such prominence in the *thalamos* (positioned, as we have seen, to catch the eye of people in the portico looking in through the open door).

The probable location in the *pastas* (room VIII) of the two statues of young women shown in the same attire and exactly the same pose, one dating from the reign of Trajan (Museum, inv. n. 100; fig. 24)⁷⁰ and the other from that of Marcus Aurelius (Museum, inv. n. 95; fig. 25),⁷¹ could reflect the premature deaths of the two young women. There are various references in Roman literary sources to the practice of erecting statues of infants and youths in a home that had suffered the loss of a son or daughter.⁷²

Thus the statues embody a range of allusions, and would have confronted whoever entered the house as a commanding invitation to respect the gods and the traditions which alone can ensure the orderly continuation not only of successive generations but also of history itself, evoked by the doomed female figures.

Finally, in room IX the presence of Aesculapius and Hygeia in the alcoves was a tribute to the city's tutelary divinity. The sanctuary of Aesculapius was one of the prime components in the rise of Cos, and once the island's school of medicine won special favour with the emperors of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine eras, it continued through the second half of the 2nd century AD to be one of the major political and cultural resources of the city.⁷³

Thus the décor reflects choices that were not only aesthetic but also, in the full sense of the word, representative: together with other elements, they illustrated the taste and culture of householders and their guests. These attributes can best be characterised as eclectic, as M. Kreeb showed for the Hellenistic period in Delos, and R. Neudecker has recently reaffirmed. At the same time they are profoundly influenced by local traditions, corresponding with the findings of L. Robert⁷⁴ concerning official cultural manifestations in cities throughout Asia Minor at this time.

The local production of art and crafts responded to these same attributes. Far from being restricted to a humdrum output of decorative stereotypes, artisans shared and fostered the taste of their clients. All citizens shared a common background of beliefs, needs and aspirations in their appreciation of the achievements of artists and craftsmen.⁷⁵

NOTES

- * This article was translated into English by Mark Weir.
¹ Morricone 1950, 237-238, fig. 64; Sirano 1994a, 541-577. In general on Cos, its history and archaeology: *Kos* 2001; Livadiotti/Rocco 1996, 92-96, 102-112.
² Morricone 1950, 236-240, figs. 61-74; Sirano 1996, 136-

- 140; F. Sirano, L'ufficio archeologico di Cos: 1941-1948 '...mando Panaioti col ciuccio di Ahmet' 7, in Liviadotti/Rocco 1996, 184-188, 203-208.
- ³ The documentation concerning the excavations is conserved in the Archivio della SAIA and comprises a few notes in the hand of Morricone and a large number of black and white photos taken at various phases of the work, dated on the back (occasionally with a written comment). Study and re-ordering of the photos has helped to establish the excavation's main phases and to verify my on site observations. They are hereafter indicated by Fondo Morricone (FM), prior to publication of the entire documentation.
- ⁴ This anticipation of the definitive publication of the House started in 1992 as a thesis of specialisation in the Scuola Archeologica Italiana of Athens for Prof. Antonino Di Vita, whom I thank for his confidence in me and for the numerous discussions we had on the topic. I also wish to express my gratitude to the present Director of the School, Prof. Emanuele Greco, not only for authorising the publication of these preliminary notes but also for making available his own expertise and the School's facilities. I must thank the Ephoreia of the Dodecanese, in the person of the Ephor emeritus Dr. Iohannes Papachristodoulou, and all the scientific and security staff of the office on Cos and at the headquarters in Rhodes, particularly the late lamented Dr. Charis Kantsia and Dr. Hertsi Brouskari, Agheliki Iannikouri, Maria Kollias, Dr. Dimitris Bosnakis and my colleagues Dora Grigoriadou and Elpida Skerlou. I gratefully record the advice and on-going dialogue with the architects Prof. Giorgio Rocco, Drs. Monica Livadiotti and Antonella Merletto, and the archaeologists Drs. Marina Albertocchi and Lorella Maria De Matteis. Last, but not the least, I wish to thank for the friendly revisions and suggestions Prof. Andrew Wallace Hadrill and Richard Neudecker, Ingrid Edlund Berry, Amanda Claridge, Nancy Winter, Eric Moormann. Except where otherwise stated, the drawings and photographs are the work of Arch. Antonella Merletto and the late lamented Mario Quaresima.
- ⁵ Studies of the domestic sphere now have a vast bibliography, generating numerous theoretical insights: E. Bartman, *Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm*, in *Roman Art in Private Sphere*, Leiden 1991, 79-80; R. Neudecker, *Weitere Prolegomena zur römischen Kunst*, JRA 5 (1992) 319-330; R. Ling, *The Study of Houses at Herculaneum*, JRA 5 (1992) 331-337; R. Ling, *German Approaches to Pompeii*, JRA 6 (1993) 331-340; A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, *Spazio privato e spazio pubblico nella città romana*, Rome 1995; G.L. Grassigli, *La scena domestica e il suo immaginario. I temi figurati nei mosaici della Cisalpina*, Perugia 1998, 55-70; Muth 1998, 25-27, 33-47. Of particular interest with wide-ranging discussion of the English language bibliography: P.M. Allison, *Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Roman Domestic Space*, AJA 105 (2001) 181-208. For the Roman world: Darmon 1987, 57-64; R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Mainz 1988; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The social Structure of the Roman House*, BSR 56 (1988) 43-97; idem, *The social Spread of Roman Luxury: sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum*, BSR 58 (1990) 145-192; J.R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C.-A.D. 250. Ritual, Space and Decoration*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1991; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton 1994. Collections of essays: Gazda 1991 (review by E.W. Leach, AJA 96, 1992, 551-557); Laurence/Wallace-Hadrill 1997. For the Greek world: Kreeb 1988; W. Höpfner/G. Brands (eds.), *Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige*, Mainz 1996; Ch. Makaronas/E. Giorgi, *Οι οικίες Αιγύπτου της Ελένης και Διονύσου της Πέλλας*, Athens 1989; W. Höpfner/E.L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*, Munich 1994²; Trümper 1998; for Cos and others microasiatic contexts: M. L. Ratman, *A late roman House in Sardis, Asia Minor Studies XVII (Forschungen in Lydien)*, Bonn 1995; Albertocchi 1997, 120-126; B. Poulsen, *The sculpture from the Roman Villa in Halicarnassus, in Sculpture and Sculptors in Caria and Dodecanese*, 74-83; J. P. Sordini, *Habitat de l'Antiquité tardive* (2), *Τοπιοι* 7 1997, 435-474; Aurenhammer 1999, 535-543; Parrish 1999, 507-513.
- ⁶ Preliminarily discussed in Sirano 1996, 136-140. For the background and application of this methodological approach: Scott 1997, 53-67.
- ⁷ Parrish 1997, 581-633; Parrish 1999, 507-513.
- ⁸ On typology in general, Pesando 1989, 63-72, 90-91, 125-126; 241-243 fig. 52.
- ⁹ This hypothesis fits not only with the location of the house at the foot of the acropolis, the slightly raised ground being exploited to create a terraced construction like the House of the Hill at Delos, but also with the discovery during excavations of fragments of fresco considerably higher than current ground level, as shown in an archive photo (FM 434) taken at an early stage of the excavations (30.12.1936).
- ¹⁰ The room, whose walls are entirely reconstructed, did not originally communicate with the adjacent room V. It could be reached only from room VII along an awkward passage that corresponds to the location of the *gynaikonitis* on the floor above. Subsequently rooms V and VI were joined, the dividing wall being replaced by two pillars for the flight of stairs. The latter was moved providing access from room V, while VI seems to have been used as a below-stairs storeroom.
- ¹¹ *Prasinopetra* was used, for example, to construct the portico on the acropolis overlooking the quarter of the Central Baths and the stairs in the stadium. On building techniques at Cos: Morricone 1950, 56; M. Livadiotti, *Note preliminari sulle tecniche costruttive di Cos in età ellenistica e romana*, in *Studi in Memoria di Mauro Cristofani* (Suppl. Prospettiva), in publication; E. Poupaki, *Quarries of the Hellenistic Age on the Island of Kos and the possible uses of the stones extracted*, in K. Höghammar (ed.) *The Hellenistic Polis of Kos. State, Economy and Culture (Proceedings of the Colloquium, Uppsala 11-13 May 2000)*, Uppsala 2004, 165-179.
- ¹² *Délos* VIII, 280, fig. 148-149.
- ¹³ It is a capital from a window shutter decorated with rosettes and a relief (cm 42x15), cf. *Délos* VIII, 297, figs. 175-176; P. Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti egiziani* (Repertorio dell'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano, Serie C, III), Rome, 1993, 328, 382-383; nn. 73, 316, 317, pls. 12, 40.
- ¹⁴ Pesando 1989, 155, fig. 52, 8.
- ¹⁵ Höpfner/Schwandner 1986, 185-186, fig. 186; Pesando 1989, 155, fig. 52, 11.
- ¹⁶ *Délos* VIII, 58ff.; Trümper 1998, 301, n. 80.
- ¹⁷ *Délos* VIII, 404ff.; Kreeb 1988, Kat. 28, 27ff.; 40-43, fig. 2.13; Trümper 1998, 246, n. 39.
- ¹⁸ *Délos* VIII, 417; Kreeb 1988, Kat. 9, 41, 162, fig. 2.11; Trümper 1998, 213, n. 23.
- ¹⁹ Kreeb 1988, Kat. 24, 38; 200ff., fig. 2.10; Trümper 1998,

- 234, n. 35.
- ²⁰ Hoepfner/Schwandner 1986, 242-246; for additional examples of *pastas* house (still surviving) in middle imperial period: Parrish 1999, 508.
- ²¹ In room I and between V and VI.
- ²² For example, in the courtyard, in addition to the pipes bringing water to the fountain, at least three channels for sewage have been identified, bisecting one another, indicating repeated restoration work. The enlargement of the curtain of the eastern wall of room VII was obviously a more substantial undertaking, documented in photographs (FM 452, 456), although it is not clear whether it was an isolated job, perhaps connected with the floor above, or affected the whole house.
- ²³ The photographs taken during excavations show how the columns of the *pastas* were found collapsed on top of one another (FM 425), while the statues were standing, buried in debris, probably because they stood next to the robust door jambs of rooms IX and X (FM 630-632, 634-636, 638, 639) and were protected during the landslide.
- ²⁴ FM 425; 631.
- ²⁵ Morricone 1950, 240-241.
- ²⁶ E. Brouskari, *ArchDelt* 48, 1988 B2 (1993), 637-639. Pl. 379.b; the tendrils were a 'trademark' of the workshop that also made the frescoes in the House of the Rape of Europa.
- ²⁷ B. Orphanou, *ArchDelt* 48, 1993 B2 (1998), 39, Pl. 20.b.
- ²⁸ L.M. Gadbery, Roman wall-painting at Corinth: new evidence from east of the Theater, in T.E. Gregory (ed.), *Corinth in the Roman Period* (JRA Suppl. VIII), Ann Arbor 1993, 47-64.
- ²⁹ De Vos 1972, 154-170, Pls. LXIII-LXVI, LXVII-LIX; M. Barbera, in Barbera/Paris 1996, 151-152, figs. 3, Pl. III.a-d.
- ³⁰ Felletti Maj/Moreno 1967, 20-30, Pls. II, XII; C. Gasparri, *Le pitture della Caupona del Pavone*, Rome 1970, 24-25, 28, Pl. IX.4.
- ³¹ *Ephesos* VIII.1, 87-89; H2/SR 27, 29, figs. 174-177; for chronology Parrish 1997, 587-588; Parrish 1999, 511-513.
- ³² Sirano 1994a, 556-562.
- ³³ De Matteis 1999, 59-67.
- ³⁴ Room XI- *Cubiculum* of Europa: only the facing of the platform is missing; Room II: complete; Rooms I, III-X: flooring is missing.
- ³⁵ Rooms: VII, IX-XI.
- ³⁶ Room VIII: columns in *prasinopetra* of the *pastas* had been dismantled to carry out repairs on the flooring of the central courtyard and subsequently remounted, partially covering the marble tiles of the restoration; the space between the columns had been blocked up with a lightweight partition, the whole area then being plastered over and given a red wash. On all the other wall surfaces in the room we have observed the characteristic pock-marking which was the customary preparation prior to re-pointing previously painted plaster work.
- ³⁷ See the interesting suggestions advanced for a large residential complex from the Imperial period at Cos, the so-called Roman House, by M. Albertocchi (2001, 219-220). Parallels in Ephesos, Terrace Houses 1 and 2: Aurenhammer 1999, 536, 540-541; Parrish 1999, 507-513.
- ³⁸ Parrish 1997, p. 581; Parrish 1999, 510-511.
- ³⁹ Moormann 1996, 65-69.
- ⁴⁰ The paintings on the west wall, probably affected by damp from the outcrop of the acropolis to the rear, were detached at an unknown date and then replaced in the original position, as seen by comparison with the photographs (FM 430-433).
- ⁴¹ For the style: R. Paris, in Barbera/Paris 1996, 76, figs. 9-10.
- ⁴² The best comparisons for style and contents are the paintings in the latrine in House 2 of the Slopes: *Ephesos* VIII.1, 88-89, figs. 180-184 and note 300; Parrish 1997, 597; Parrish 1999, 508. On the decoration of latrines in general: A. Barbet, *Peintures murales en relation avec la fonction des pièces en Gaule. Bâtiments religieux, publics ou commerciaux, habitat privé*, in Moormann 1993, 14-15; G.C.M. Jansen, *Paintings in Roman Toilets*, in Moormann 1993, 29-32; on inscriptions in these contexts: P. Chini, *Pitture rinvenute nella forica di via Garibaldi a Roma*, in Scagliarini Corlàita 1997, 189-191; S.T.A.M. Mols, *I Sette Sapienti a Ostia antica*, in Scagliarini Corlàita 1997, 89-96.
- ⁴³ FM 440.
- ⁴⁴ FM 463.
- ⁴⁵ FM 439, 448.
- ⁴⁶ Sirano 1994a, 541-577. The Rape of Europa is also depicted in a earlier (second half of 2nd century AD) mosaic from a house in Cos: Brouscari 1999, 53-54, tav. V, 5, VI, 1 (with a different later chronology).
- ⁴⁷ For the hierarchy of decorative mediums and the mutable rapports between marble and painting see: R.A. Tybout, *Roman wall-painting and social significance*, *JRA* 14 (2001), 33-56 (with bibliography).
- ⁴⁸ For example the group with Dionysos, Satyr and Pan (Cos, inv. 94), the statues of Artemis (Cos, inv. 97) and Hermes (Cos, inv. 91) seems to be works of the early second half of the 2nd century AD sculpted from the same workshop both for stylistic features, marble type and details rendering.
- ⁴⁹ Special interest is to give to the re-use of collected statues (same times going back to Hellenistic period) in others houses of Cos - Casa dei Bronzi: M.L. Morricone Matini, *Bustino bronzo di Geta*, *ASAtene* 57-58, 1979-1980 (1986), 361-374, fig. 83-86; Oikopedon Tsoka: Ch. Kantsia, *ArchDelt* 45, 1990 B2 (1995), 497-499; D. Grigoriadou, *ArchDelt* 47, 1992 B2 (1997), 653-654; Oikopedon Chatzitoma: E. Skerlou, *ArchDelt* 45, 1990 B2 (1995), 499-500; Casa Romana: Albertocchi 1997, 120-124 - and Ephesos (Aurenhammer 1999, 535-543).
- ⁵⁰ Cos, Museum inv. n. 94: Morricone 1950, 238-239, figs. 66, 72; Davaris, 22, n. 94; Pochmarski 1990, 233-234, 327, 364, n. P75, Pl. 79.2. Statue in white marble with green veins; h. cm 139,5. This is a variant of the so-called Grimani and Olympeion types: C. Gasparri, s.v. Bacchus, in *LIMC* III, 547, 562-563, nn. 76, 79 where the author emphasises the difficulties of classification for such Dionysiac groups; see further D. Willers, *Typus und Motiv aus der hellenistischen Entwicklungsgeschichte einer Zweifigurengruppe*, *AK* 29 (1986) 137ff. Cf. for iconography: Pochmarski 1990, 314, n. SR96, Pl. 61, 1; Stefanidou Tiveriou 1993, 96-98, 254, n. 64, Pl. 32; for Pan perched on a bush: Pochmarski 1990, 322, n. P41, Pl. 73.2.
- ⁵¹ Cos, Museum inv. n. 97: Morricone 1950, 238-239; Davaris, 22, n. 97. The sculpture, in white marble with green veins, h. cm 135,8 is of the Sevilla-Palatino type: E. Simon, s.v. Artemis, in *LIMC* II, 793, nn. 23-24. Cf. G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* III.2, Berlin 1956, 204-204, n. 68, Pl. 96; *Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale*, Bologna 1964, II, 279, n. 378, Pls. 27, 58; St. Gsell, *Cherchel antique lol-Caesarea*, s.n.t., 1952, 80, n. 139; P. Leveque/G.L. Donnay, *L'art grec au Musée de Mariemont*, Bordeaux 1967, 127, n. 62.
- ⁵² Cos, Museum inv. n. 101: Morricone 1950, 238-239, fig.

- 66; Davaris, 24, n. 101; Sirano 1994b, 207, n. 4, note 15, figs. 7 a, b; white close-grained marble, h. cm 127.3; a variant of the Amelung type defined by G. Grimm type Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier (G. Grimm, Alexander the False Prophet and his God Asclepius-Glycon. Remarks Concerning the Representation of Asclepius with an Egg ('type Nea Paphos-Alexandria-Trier'), in *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age* (Proceedings of the seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, April 1988), London 1989, 168-181). For discussion of the iconography and a proposal to assign the creation of the variant to the cult group of the Asklepieion C temple in Cos: Sirano 1994b, 199-232.
- 53 Cos, Museum inv. n. 98: Morricone 1950, 238, fig. 73; C. Kerenyi, *Der göttliche Arzt. Studien über Asklepios und seine Kultstätten*, Darmstadt 1956, 62, n. 62, fig. 33 (mistaken provenance); Davaris, 22, n. 98; E. Metropoulou, *H τυπολογία της θεάς Υγείας με φύδι*, Athens 1984 25-26, 48, 61, n. 70a; Preissshofen 1989, 64, note 196; F. Croissant, s.v. Hygieia, in *LIMC* V, 570, n. 71; Sobel 1990, 96, n. 6, Pl. 9a. White marble with light blue veins, h. cm 147; Hygieia-Aphrodite type in Sobel's classification (Sobel 1990, 95-96).
- 54 Morricone 1950, 238.
- 55 This iconography is familiar also in the plastic arts: E. Rhomiopoulou, *Ελληνορωμαϊκά Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Athens 1997, 123, n. 130.
- 56 In general on the complementary nature of painting and sculpture in domestic decoration: Zanker 1993, 160-171; see also: Seiler 1992, 45, 131-132, figs. 248, 264.
- 57 Pochmarski 1990, 303, R 55, Pl. 39; 308, SR 13, Pl. 45.1; 311, SR 52, Pl. 52.1; 331, SR 77.
- 58 In general on mosaics featuring the Rape of Europa and their significance in different contexts: O. Wattel de Croizant, *L'enlèvement d'Europe: une scène pour lithostrotion et emblématique* (Préneste, Cannes, Athènes), in P. Johnson/R. Ling/D.J. Smith (eds.), *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics (Bath, England 1987)* (JRA Suppl. IX), Ann Arbor 1994, 45-66; eadem, *Iconographie de l'enlèvement d'Europe en Italie: la symbolique funéraire des traversées marines à l'époque romaine*, in R. Bedon/P.M. Martin (eds.), *Mélanges Raimond Chevallier (Caesardodum XXVII)*, Tours 1994, II.1, 113-128. See also: G.L. Montegudo/M.P. San Nicolás Pedraz, *La iconografía del rapto de Europa en el Mediterraneo occidental. A proposito de una lucerna del Museo de Sassari*, in *L'Africa romana (Atti VIII Convegno di Studio, Cagliari 1990)*, Sassari 1991, 1013-1015.
- 59 Sirano 1994a, 568-572: Merops was supposed to be the father of Europos, as well as Eumelos. Moreover Astypalaia, according to Apollodoros who might have followed Pherecides, was the sister of Europa and mother of King Eurypilos, the former king of the island whom Heracles fought on his return from the first Trojan war. A second earlier Europa mosaic in Cos: Brouscari 1999, 53-54.
- 60 On the distribution of entrances within the Roman house and the socio-cultural implications of the architectural articulation: Allison 1992, 235-249; Scott 1997, 53-67; M. Grahame, *Public and Private in the Roman House. The Spatial Order in the Casa del Fauno*, in Laurence/Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 137-164.
- 61 Morricone 1950, 240-241, fig. 75.
- 62 L. De Matteis, *Il bordo con venationes nel mosaico del 'giudizio di Paride' di Cos*, in *Atti del I Colloquio dell'AISCOM*, Ravenna 1994, 119-123.
- 63 M. Albertocchi, *Un mosaico con Nereide dalla casa romana di Cos*, in *Atti del I Colloquio dell'AISCOM*, Ravenna 1994, 13ff. On the house: Albertocchi 2001, 215-224.
- 64 Darmon 1987, 57-64; see also the observations and nuances according to context in Muth 1998, 205-206; 212-213; 253.
- 65 Sherwin White 1978, 317.
- 66 See further note 70.
- 67 Cos, Museum inv. n. 91: Morricone 1950, 238-239, fig. 74; Davaris, 22, n. 91; Sherwin White 1978, 290-291, 313-314; Sirano 1997, 134-139, figs. 247-248.
- 68 Sources and legend: Sherwin White 1978, 290-292. On the text of Antoninus Liberalis: F. Celauria, *Antoninus Liberalis' Metamorphosis*, London, 1992, 69, 147.
- 69 *Ant. Lib.* 15. 3 (ed. Belles Lettres, Paris, 1968); Sirano 1997, 136-137.
- 70 Cos, Museum inv. n. 100: Morricone 1950, 238-239, figs. 68, 71; Davaris, 24, n. 100; Kruse, 1975, 102-103, and note 110; K. Fittschen, *GGA* 225 (1973) 63; white close-grained honey marble, h. cm 165.
- 71 Cos, Museum inv. n. 95: Morricone 1950, 239, figs. 66, 69-70 with different chronology; cfr. Kruse 1975, 102, note 110; Preissshofen 1989, 156. White close-grained honey marble; h. cm 131.3. Both this and the previous sculpture inv. 100 constitute variants of the so-called Small Herculeum Woman present also at Iasos (Linfert 1976, 59, note 178, Pl. XIX, figs. 98-100), Perge (Linfert 1976, 59, note 179), as well as on a sarcophagus of Asia Minor tradition conserved in London/Athens (H. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Säulensarkophage*, Berlin 1965, 100, 151, n. F14, Pl. I, IV, fig. 22-23); one more Western specimen corresponds to this type (L. De Lachenal, in *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculpture* I.2, Rome 1981, 302-305, n. 105). This iconography is often used for statues of a muse; for the Muse with Kythara: E. La Rocca, *Philiskos a Roma. Una testa di musa dal tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano* (Studi in onore di A. Adriani), Rome 1984, 639-640; B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Bristol 1990, 257-259.
- 72 Cf. Gercke 1968, 154-157 who refers to the literary sources from the 1st century AD for parents who keep in the house statues of their dead children to alleviate their grief. See also *ibidem*, 187-191 for a correlation between the literary sources, the cultural requisites they represent and the stylistic trends of the first three decades of the 2nd century AD.
- 73 Sherwin White 1978, p. 256 (in particular for the Roman period: 279-289).
- 74 L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes, prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*, Paris 1980, 399-414.
- 75 For further archaeological evidences from domestic contexts and/or private sphere in Cos: Morricone 1950, 316-319; Albertocchi 1997, 123-124; E. Brouscari, *The Tyche of Cos on a mosaic from Late Antique house in Cos*, in S. Isager/B. Poulsen (eds.) 1997, *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity* (Halicarnassian Studies II), Odense, 65-74, fig. 9; De Matteis 1999, 59-67; Albertocchi 2001, 115-119; L.M. De Matteis, *Coo, mosaici del santuario di Eracle nel "Quartiere del Porto"*, in *Kos* 2001, 115-119; F. Sirano, *Immagini sacre e culti domestici a Coo. La documentazione dagli scavi italiani*, in *Image et Religion. Méthodes et problématiques pour l'Antiquité gréco-romaine. Image et religion dans l'espace domestique*, (Atene EFA, 5-7.06.2003), forthcoming.

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Luxury Living in the *Praetorium* on the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen

Quotations of Mediterranean Principles in Roman Provincial Architecture

Kees Peterse

Abstract

*The Augustan praetorium on the Kops Plateau was a building of special status. Its orientation did not align with the encampment's grid system and it was located at the edge of the encampment rather than at its center. As a result the major reception hall and the residential area of the building offered a view onto enemy territory in the distance. This exceptional scenery makes it plausible that the praetorium was intended for people who were involved in the overall strategy of the military campaigns. The praetorium was obviously affected by architectural features that were fashionable in the early Augustan era. This links the praetorium to the remains of contemporary domestic architecture in the Mediterranean and Vitruvius' recommendations on house architecture. During the last decades BC, the theory behind Vitruvius' treatise can be seen in the architectural practice found in Pompeii and the praetorium on the Kops Plateau.**

The oldest traces that indicate a Roman presence in the Netherlands are from the Augustan era when the area of Nijmegen was selected as a military base for campaigns against the Germanic tribes (12 BC-AD 16). The *praetorium*, the encampment commander's house on the so-called Kops Plateau, is the oldest large-sized building that was fully excavated (figs. 1-2). It was built in approximately 10 BC.¹ It has been presumed that the camp served as a command post and that the *praetorium* accommodated the Roman supreme commander: Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Livia and stepson of Augustus.²

In Italy stone had been the predominant building material for an extensive period of time, yet the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was built in timber framework. Nevertheless, features well known to us from Mediterranean architecture, such as a colonnaded courtyard and an atrium-like central hall, characterized the commander's residence (figs. 3-4). The apparent relationship between military residences in the northern region and hometown domestic architecture has been an issue of previous scholarly exploration. Siegmund von Schnurbein,³ Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn⁴ and Martin Pietsch⁵ all noticed the striking resemblance between the Mediterranean atrium complex and Augustan *praetoria* built along the river Lippe.⁶ Reinhard Förtsch more specifically examined the relationship between these complexes

and contemporary luxury architecture, especially villas in Italy.⁷ Apparently, the Roman officers, who came from wealth, brought elements of their lifestyle to the northern provinces.

The *praetorium*'s presumed special status and its immediate relation to elite Roman society point towards the need for a detailed study of its architectural nature. At a glance, rooms resonant of those found in the Mediterranean can be distinguished in the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau. Earlier archaeologists had observed the presence of a *triclinium* (24) and a *porticus*.⁸ On the building's west side a tetrastyle atrium (9) anticipated by *fauces* (1) can be discerned, while a colonnade in the center of the complex can be identified as a three-sided peristyle (35).

To arrive at a detailed explanation of the *praetorium*'s architectural characteristics and enable a reconstruction of the complex, Museum Het Valkhof commissioned the author to conduct a comprehensive analysis.⁹ If, as it seemed, those who built the *praetorium* drew upon their hometown domestic architecture, what exactly did they quote and for what purposes? This analysis depended upon a process of comparison. The links between the *praetorium* and contemporary fortresses built in what is present day Germany are unquestionable. However, defining the *praetorium*'s relationship with contemporary domestic architecture in the Mediterranean is more complex because Pompeii,

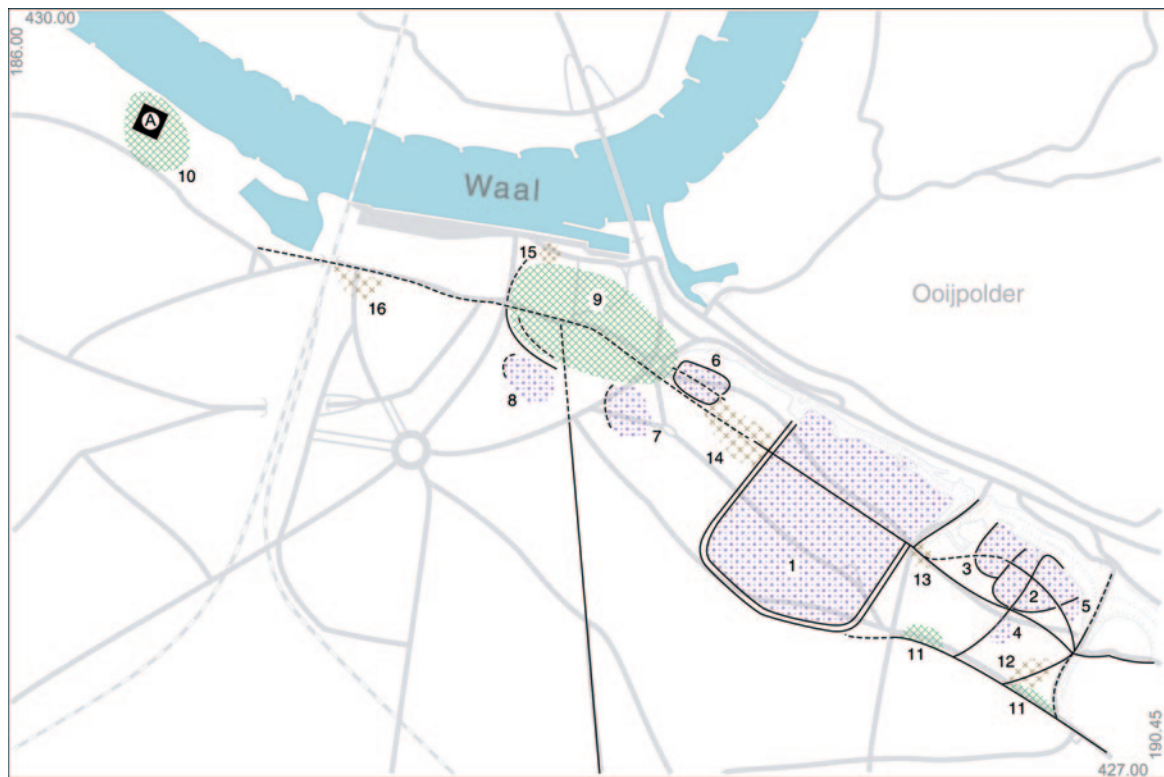


Fig. 1. Nijmegen during the Augustan era. 1 = fortress on the Hunerberg, 2 = commander's post on the Kops Plateau, 9 = Oppidum Batavorum (drawing Rob Mols / Bureau Archeologie Nijmegen).

the richest source of late Republican and early Imperial domestic architecture, is not unanimously accepted as providing a representative impression of this tradition.¹⁰ Therefore, a closer comparison of the *praetorium* with the houses of Pompeii is only meaningful if Pompeii can be proved to reflect common Roman practice.

The same applies to the most important written source: Vitruvius' *De Architectura*.¹¹ Vitruvius did not write about *praetorium* buildings explicitly, but his recommendations for domestic architecture and interior design are relevant because the Augustan *praetorium* was in part a spacious residence set within a military context. *De Architectura* constitutes an important point of comparison if one can prove that Vitruvius' recommendations were a reflection of common practice. If Vitruvius' recommendations can be considered representative of his time and Pompeii reflects more than a locally bound tradition, each source may be used to explain the other. This has been a topic of frequent scholarly contention.¹²

It will be demonstrated that, although it was built far away from Rome, the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was located, spatially conceived and

worked out in detail according to Mediterranean practice. The complex was obviously affected by early Augustan architectural features and there is every reason to believe that the complex was intended for those of the highest-rank. The following comparison will reveal that Nijmegen, Pompeii and Vitruvius as three different archaeological sources all speak to the same architectural development. All three embody a transitional stage in the early Augustan period that greatly impacted domestic architecture and interior design. During the last decades before the beginning of the Common Era, the theory behind Vitruvius' treatise can be seen in the architectural practice found in Pompeii and the *praetorium* of Nijmegen.

A COMMANDER'S POST IN THE HINTERLAND

The oldest remains of a Roman presence in the Nijmegen area go back to the Augustan era. During this period, Nijmegen played an important role in Roman military operations aimed at establishing permanent supremacy over Germanic territory across the river Rhine.¹³ The Nijmegen area was optimal for achieving this goal, because of its

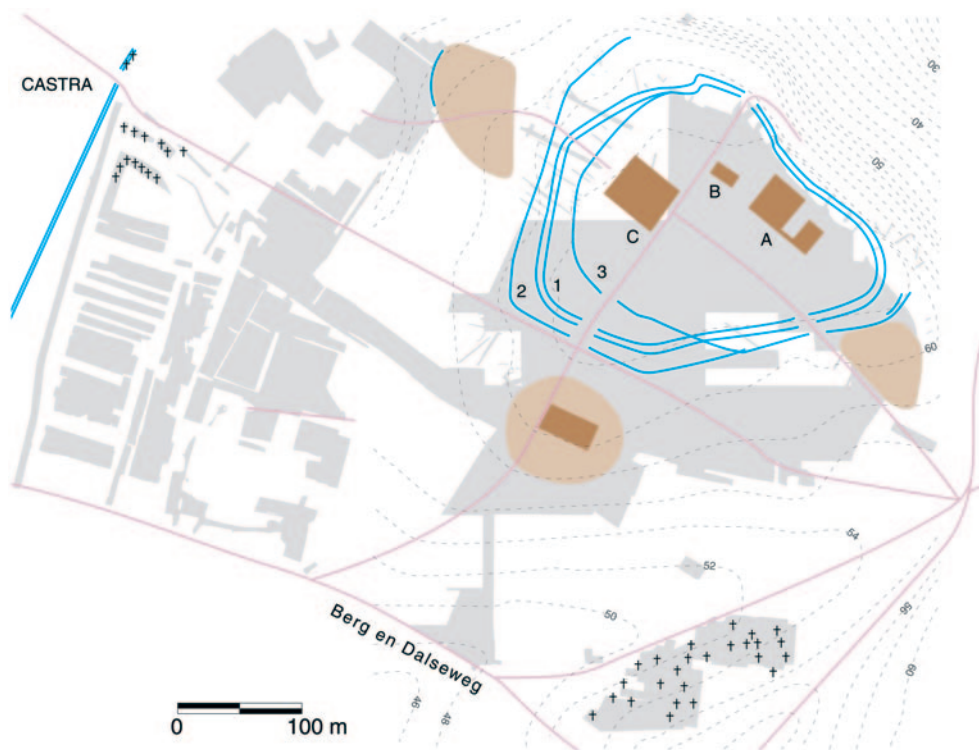


Fig. 2. Kops Plateau at Nijmegen.

A = praetorium, B = storage, C = principia, 1 = double ditch belonging to the encampment in its initial layout, 2-3 = ditches belonging to later phases (drawing Rob Mols / Bureau Archeologie Nijmegen).

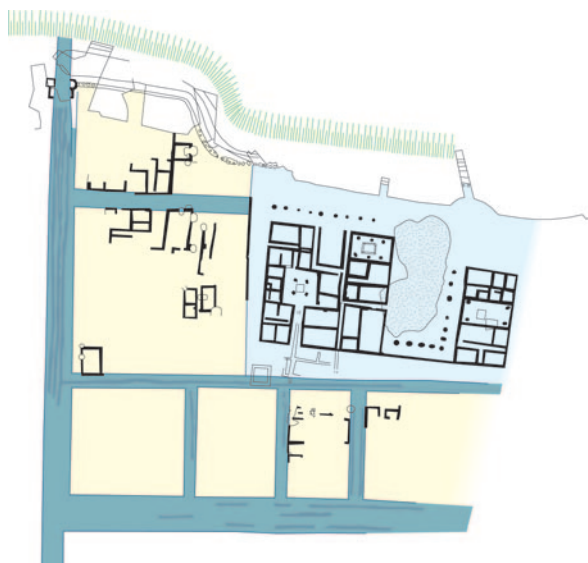


Fig. 3. Encampment on the Kops Plateau, the praetorium was the only building excavated on the Kops Plateau that deviated from the grid-like urban plan (drawing Frederike Schipper/Bureau Archeologie Nijmegen).

strategic location at the head of a glacially pushed ridge that rose over 40 meters above the Waal River basin.¹⁴ For the western flank of the military operations, the ridge offered the last opportunity to billet in a spot that overlooked enemy territory in the distance.

Around approximately 16 BC Nijmegen accommodated an invasion army of 12,000 soldiers. This estimate is based upon the size of the fortress built on the Hunerberg. It measured 42 hectares, which is twice the size of a legionary fortress. Less than a decade later, a considerably smaller fortress of 4.5 hectares was built on the Kops Plateau. The two fortresses were located close together on the same glacial ridge and were separated from one another by a hollow route that provided access to the Waal River basin. The main street of the Hunerberg fortress (*via principalis*) continued towards the east and crossed the *via principalis* of the Kops Plateau fortress just outside the encampment's fortified boundaries. To the best of our knowledge, the Hunerberg fortress was abandoned by the time the encampment on the Kops Plateau was built, or immediately thereafter. The question is what specific purpose did both encampments serve?

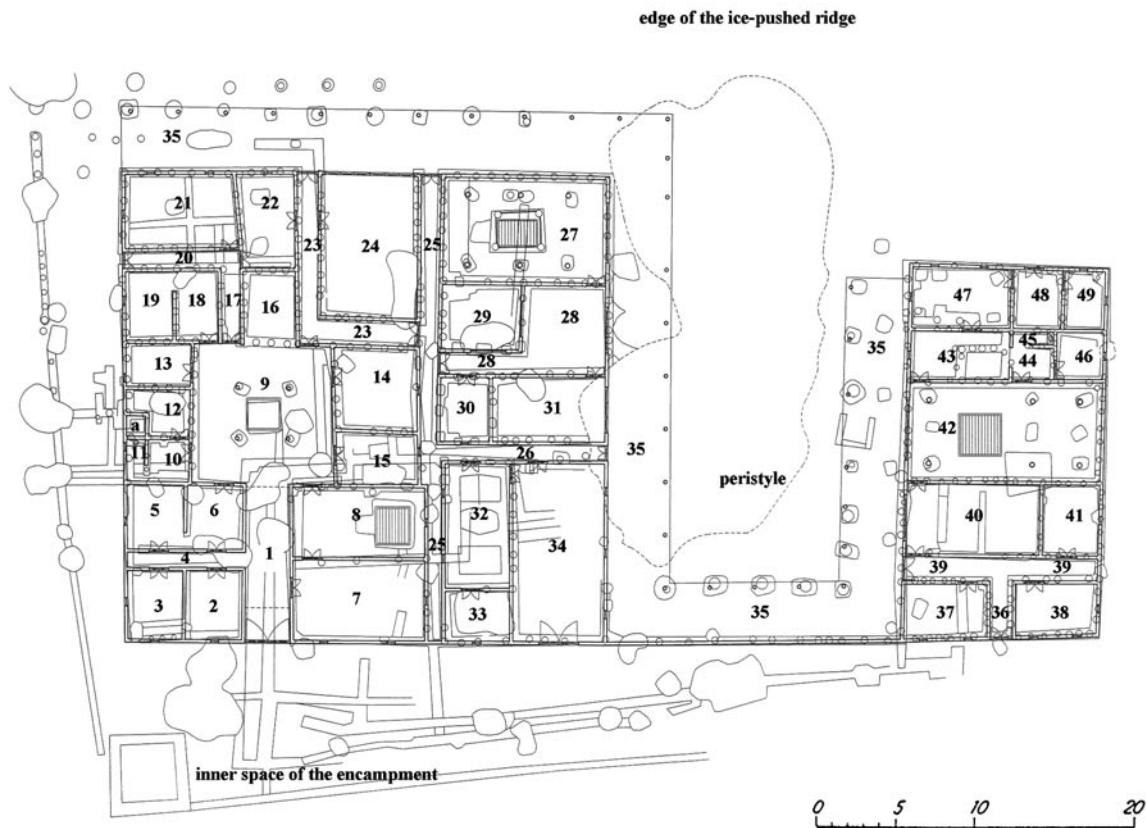


Fig. 4. Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, plan (drawing Marla Smith, Austin TX).

The reason for Roman presence on the Hunerberg seems obvious. Troops were gathered there just before they were sent into enemy territory.¹⁵ The fortress may have served as a military hub over the course of several seasons. Attention gradually shifted to the area farther northeast until the Danube-Elbe ambition was abandoned in AD 16. Whatever the purpose of the Kops Plateau fortress, it fulfilled its function by the time the invasion army had left or was about to leave the Nijmegen area. Therefore, and because of the restricted size of the camp, it seems implausible that additional troops with the same objectives as those on the Hunerberg, were stationed there. Apparently, the camp on the Kops Plateau was built for a different reason.¹⁶ The archaeological evidence substantiates this opinion.

During the excavations that were carried out by the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage (ROB) between 1986 and 1995, the encampment's original layout was documented. Within a double ditch and a rampart made of

wood and earth, two gravel streets intersected at right angles in front of the camp's headquarters, the *principia*.¹⁷ A system of similar secondary gravel roads subsequently subdivided the encampment's enclosed area. Traces of more buildings were found including wooden soldiers' barracks, a granary, accommodation for officers, and also the workshops of a blacksmith, a bronze caster and a potter.¹⁸ Furthermore, a large-scale complex was uncovered - this was the only building excavated on the Kops Plateau that deviated from the grid-like urban plan. It was built in alignment with the non-fortified northeastern edge of the plateau and was surrounded by an open area (fig. 3).¹⁹ From the outset, this complex has been identified as the office and residence of the camp's commander, the *praetorium*. A strip of rectangular *insulae* with narrow streets in between separated the *praetorium* from the road (*via praetoria*) that lead from the principal east gate (*porta praetoria*) to the main entrance of the headquarters, the *principia*.

Considering the size of the camp, one would

assume it was an auxiliary fortress. The *praetorium*, however, measured 1732 square meters. These dimensions roughly correspond to the size of contemporary *praetoria* of legionary fortresses in Germany, like Oberaden (2420 m²) and Haltern (2120 m²).²⁰ Unlike the encampment on the Kops Plateau, though, these German camps enclosed a considerably larger area. Clearly, the Kops Plateau's *praetorium* was oversized. This observation that suggests the *praetorium* was of special importance is further substantiated by the disproportionately large number of the officers' accommodations, both in relation to the physical area of the fortress and the limited number of soldiers' barracks. In addition, the importance of the *praetorium* is indicated by a striking abundance of luxury pottery (*terra sigillata*) found in the camp.²¹ For these reasons, it seems that the fortress on the Kops Plateau was a command post in the hinterland from which the Romans coordinated part of their operations against the Germanic enemy.²²

These military actions proceeded according to a pincer movement with storm troops operating out of the *insula Batavorum* (Maas-Rhine delta in the center of the present Netherlands including the Nijmegen area) and the deltas of the eastern tributaries of the Rhine River, especially the Lippe where the Oberaden fortress was located (in present day Germany).²³ The actions on the west wing could have been coordinated from the Kops Plateau under the command of Augustus' stepson Nero Claudius Drusus, and after his death in 9 BC his successors Tiberius, Varus and Germanicus.²⁴

The encampment on the Kops Plateau retained its original appearance until the complete reorganization immediately after the defeat of Varus in AD 9. A slightly larger camp with more or less the same characteristics replaced the fortress. From the mid-thirties onward the camp no longer functioned as a command post in the hinterland. A new encampment was built in the same location, in which a cavalry division was stationed until the Batavian Revolt in AD 69-70.²⁵

EXPLORING THE PRAETORIUM

To gain a better understanding of the *praetorium*'s functional and architectural characteristics a detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence was necessary. Using the excavators large-scale plan (1:100), we focused first on establishing a more detailed layout of the complex (fig. 4).

From the *praetorium* building (approximately 32.7x61.9 m) the excavators discovered post-holes as well as other traces indicating that the complex

was built in timber framework. Although the post-holes give an impression of the building's original plan, they do no justice to its precision. What was found were traces of the building's foundation consisting of wooden piles. In general, these were dug into continuous trenches. Only free-standing posts, like those of the colonnaded courtyard (35), were erected in individual pits.²⁶ For the analysis of the building it is important to explore the relationship between the foundation piles and the wall sections that once were visible above ground level, but have left no traces.

From buildings in Germany originating from the first two decades of the Common Era we know that wooden framework was executed in various ways.²⁷ Some evidence indicates the existence of timber walls that consisted of piles that stretched continuously from the bottom of the foundation trench to the plate on top of them. The latter supported exposed rafters. The gaps in between the piles were filled in with wattle-and-daub, on top of which a loamy finish was applied.²⁸ An alternative construction process also consisted of foundation piles that were dug into trenches, but at ground level these piles had horizontal beams between them.²⁹

Looking at the plan of the *praetorium*, one notices that most rooms have foundation piles on all four sides that were set close together. This, of course, does not indicate the absence of doorways in the building. It only suggests that at foundation level the location of doorways (and floor bound windows) was irrelevant. This implies a building technique featuring a soleplate that was attached to the top of the foundation piles. After all, putting foundation piles directly in front of major room 42, which for obvious reasons must have faced the colonnaded courtyard 35, would have been useless if a continuous horizontal beam supporting a wooden threshold had not been applied (fig. 5).³⁰ The actual timber framework was erected upon the soleplate using uprights. These uprights were probably cut and placed more carefully than the foundation piles which only served to support the soleplate. Only in places where major and minor openings that did not require thresholds were intended, like the north side of room 24 and both short sides of corridor 1, the system of foundation piles was interrupted. Here cost-effectiveness was privileged over structural stability.

On the whole, the archaeological evidence did not help to locate the positions of doorways and windows. This complicated the process of creating detailed identifications of the various rooms. Nevertheless, even without specific comparisons

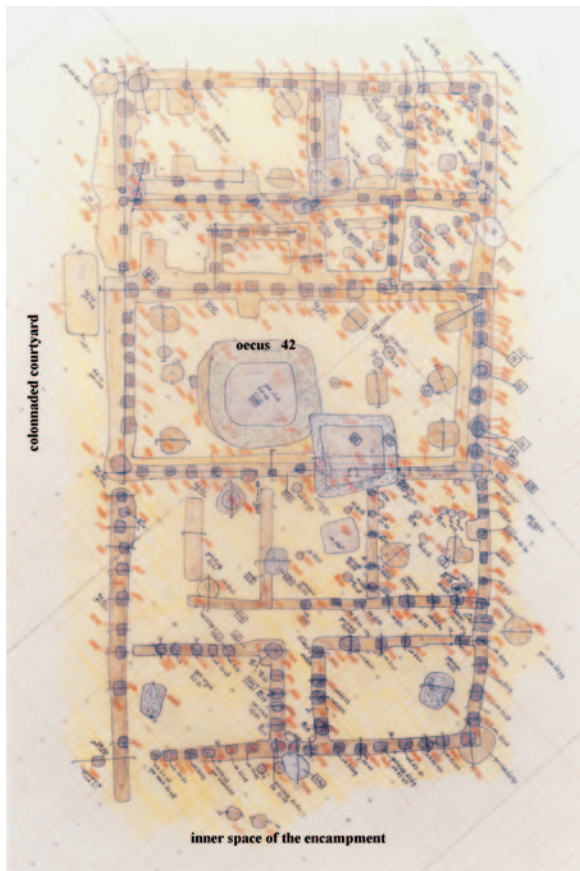


Fig. 5. *Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, plan east wing* (drawing National Service for the Archaeological Heritage ROB).

to Mediterranean examples, the plan itself provides sufficient information that enables us to draw important initial conclusions.

At first glance, the building seemed to be composed of two separate areas: a large and relatively square section on the west side, and a smaller, elongated part on the east side. In between there was a colonnaded courtyard, which looked out onto the river valley. During initial discussions, we believed the west side of the complex was used for formal representation and administrative purposes, while the smaller structure on the east side of the courtyard was the residential area. Closer examination of the plan, however, altered this first interpretation.

Continued inspection of the plan revealed that the western square shaped part of the complex consisted of three separate structures instead of only one (fig. 4 and 6). The largest was located on the building's far west side and enclosed a central



Fig. 6. *Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, roof plan* (reconstruction Kees Peterse, computer still Marla Smith, Austin TX).

space (9). The other two volumes were laid out next to the first one leaving narrow spaces between each building (25). The gap in between the buildings functioned as a drainage that discharged into a cistern at the front of the building.³¹ A second drainage (26) separated the smaller volumes.

The remains of the complex indicate the presence of at least two entrances. The wider provided access to corridor 1. The other entrance was located at the far eastern side and entered into the considerably smaller corridor 36. Its relatively impressive width and its propinquity to the *principia* highlight the western entrance as the formal one that offered access to the *praetorium's* formal-representative area. This formal area of the complex featured a large room (24) with a narrow corridor on three sides, while the fourth side was left open. This made room 24 the only place where a visitor had a panoramic view of the river valley and, more importantly, a view of the Germanic territory in the distance. If from the commander's brief the implementation of a room had been required, suitable not only for receiving guests, but also for making them constantly aware of the purpose and significance of the Roman presence, room 24 could not have complied better.

The next question that arises is what purpose did the other buildings in the western part of the complex serve? In the northern part (27-31) a large room (27) featured six free-standing wooden posts. In the middle of the room a cellar of approximately 1 m deep was preserved. The orientation of the room itself and the arrangement of the posts in two rows along the sidewalls both indicate that the relatively spacious room was facing the colonnaded courtyard. Room 31 must have faced the courtyard too, since its north and west walls were completely built-in and its south wall was erected

along the drainage system (26). The presence of two large rooms (27 and 31) both facing the courtyard seems to suggest that the northern part of the complex acted as living quarters.

Before exploring the remaining southern section of the complex's western part, it is interesting to note the striking resemblance between the northern part just mentioned and the complex's east wing. In the east wing we also find a large room (42) that featured six free-standing wooden posts along its sidewalls. At first, based on the traces on the field drawing, it appears that the wooden posts continued along the short sides of the room forming a yoke-like construction of three posts on both ends. However, the traces of the wooden posts found near the axis of the room do not belong to the original framework structure. They were composed differently and were less deep.³² Besides, close observation reveals that these traces were located so far off-center that no regularized yokes consisting of three posts could be formed. On the axis of room 42 and enclosed by the four westernmost free-standing wooden posts, a shallow cellar was found that would have originally been covered with a hatch.³³ In this respect as well, rooms 42 and 27 were counterparts.

The adjacent elongated room 40 resembles room 31 on the opposite side of the courtyard both in its overall dimensions and in its location facing the peristyle. Most likely, this section of the complex also was composed of rooms that were intended to accommodate domestic life. A comparison between the two domestic areas reveals that the eastern structure not only consisted of more rooms, but also featured an entrance (corridor 36) that made the eastern wing accessible directly from the fortress' inner space.

The appearance of identical features indicates that the domestic suites, rather than complementing each other, provided similar facilities. It seems likely that one of the domestic suites accommodated the commander, while the other housed high-rank official visitors passing through.³⁴ Later in the article, we will return to the question of who was accommodated in which suite.

Finally, we will look at the southern section of the western part of the *praetorium*. It consisted of three interrelated rooms (32-34). Room 32 was completely built-in facing the drainage system on two sides and therefore could not have served the complex's formal-domestic function. The large-scale room 34 could have been an important room intended to serve domestic purposes if it had been orientated towards the peristyle. This seems not to have been the case, though, since in Roman

domestic architecture the principal rooms within a peristyle arrangement generally face the colonnade with one of their short sides, which, as a rule, contains the main entrance to the room.³⁵ Room 31 is an example of such an arrangement. The main entrance to room 34 should therefore be located in the building's façade, rather than in its east wall. Room 33 could have been accessible from the adjacent room 32. Based on these observations it seems justified to interpret rooms 32-34 as a more or less independent area accommodating either service rooms or additional offices that were accessible directly from the space in front of the building. Since room 34 most likely could be entered directly from this public area it possibly served as the private stable or storage area for carriages belonging to the commander and his staff. Outside the encampment a larger stable for common use was unearthed.

ARCHITECTURAL REFERENCES

Although at least some of the rooms reflect Mediterranean domestic architecture, the *praetorium* varies from hometown houses and villas in Italy in the way it was built. At the beginning of the Common Era, Roman residences were constructed using stone techniques, whereas the *praetorium* at Nijmegen was made in timber framework, a technique that some have regarded as primitive. If this qualification were justified one would hardly expect the presence of more sophisticated aspects of Roman architecture. The archaeological and historical evidence, though, points to precisely this intermixture of timber framework and more evolved elements of Roman architecture.

During the Augustan era only the impoverished people in the capital and probably other major cities lived in houses and *insulae* that had upper stories and balconies constructed in the wooden framework technique (*opus craticium*).³⁶ According to Vitruvius (2.8.20) half-timbered walls were used as a result of haste, poverty or because the construction of overhangs constituted a structural necessity for them. Vitruvius wished the technique had never been invented, because it considerably increased the risk of fire. Wooden framework could catch on fire much like a torch.³⁷ In his opinion it was better, therefore, to pay for costly tile rather than expose oneself to the dangers of timber framework.³⁸ Vitruvius' statements imply that within the context of Augustan urban settlements, wooden frameworks were considered inferior to stone, and were primarily applied because of their cost-effectiveness. Though Vitruvius men-

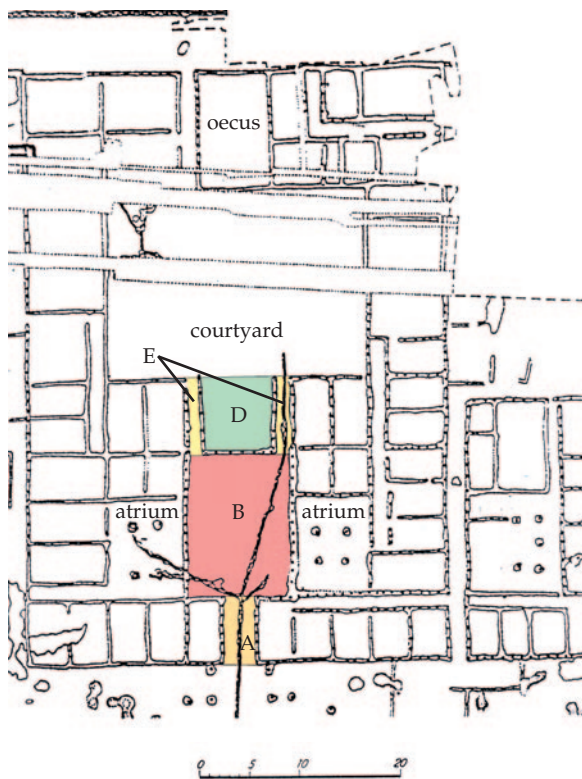


Fig. 7. Praetorium of Oberaden (D), plan, A = entrance, B = atrium, D = large room facing the courtyard, E = corridor (after Kühlborn 1991).

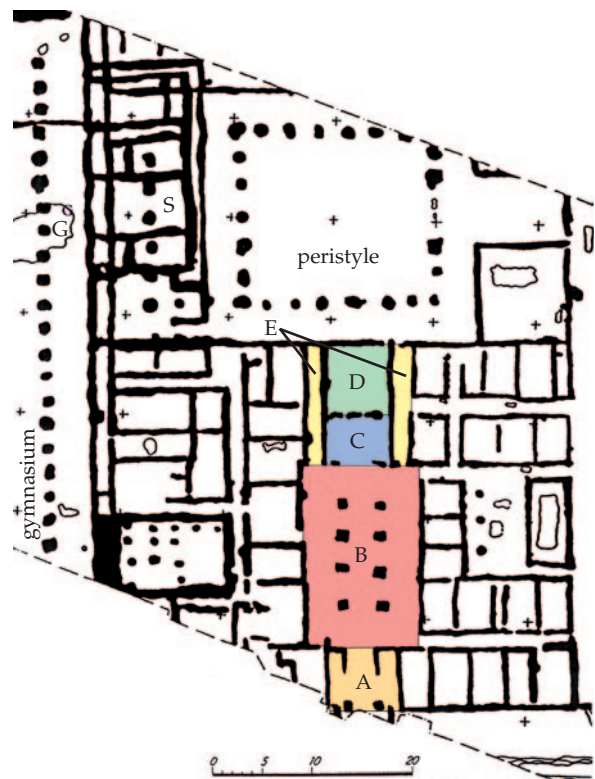


Fig. 8. Praetorium of Anreppen (D), plan, A = entrance, B = atrium, C = tablinum-like room facing the atrium, D = large room facing the peristyle, E = corridor (after Kühlborn 1991).

tioned overhang constructions, he paid little attention to other beneficial structural aspects of wooden framework such as load reduction and resistance against seismologic impact.

Vitruvius' clear disapproval of timber framework technique most likely did not apply to the Augustan military buildings in the northern region seeing as they all readily utilized this technique. The newly arrived Roman forces, who found themselves amid hostile territory, needed to quickly erect various accommodations from scratch. Often there was no time for long-term building projects because troops, like the legions billeted on the Hunerberg, had to move on to battlefields farther north. Moreover, in the Nijmegen area the only building material available was timber from a nearby oak forest. Quarries providing specific kinds of limestone and tufa were located at least a hundred kilometers to the south and at the outset the area lacked any type of brick industry.³⁹ Importing durable materials and conducting large-scale building activity with such materials would have required an economic and logistic

infrastructure that had not yet developed.⁴⁰ It wasn't until the Flavian era that circumstances permitted the construction of Nijmegen's first stone buildings in the castra on the Hunerberg and in the civil settlement called *Oppidum Batavorum*.⁴¹

Therefore, the wooden framework technique constituted the most sophisticated option for the Nijmegen *praetorium*. This technique was applied also for the Augustan *praetoria* and other contemporary buildings all over the northern region, including the legionary fortresses along the banks of the Lippe such as Oberaden, Anreppen and the slightly later Haltern.⁴² To make the timber buildings resemble stone and to reduce flammability the exterior walls were lime-washed or plastered.⁴³ The buildings probably had wooden floors and since we have found no remains of terracotta *tegulae*, their roofs must have been covered with wood shingles (*scandulae*). At the time the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was built, wooden shingles were the most common solution in the northern region.⁴⁴

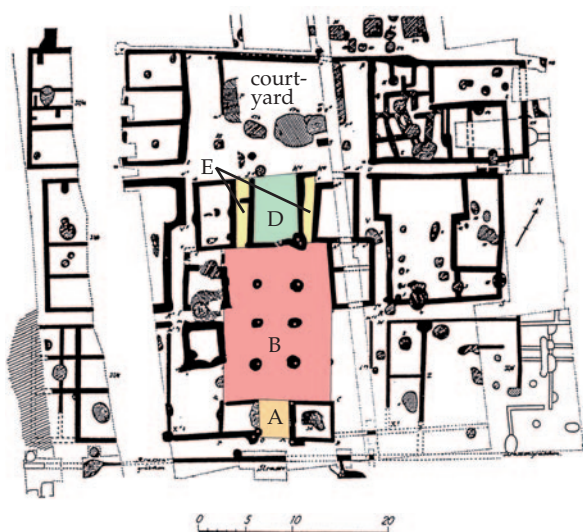


Fig. 9. *Praetorium of Haltern (D), plan, A = entrance, B = atrium, D = large room facing the courtyard, E = corridor (after Von Schnurbein 1974).*

In addition to the presence of wooden framework, less sophisticated building options were utilized. This becomes apparent from the excavations at Neuss where we see that within a sequence of Augustan-Tiberian fortresses it took until the third phase (C) before timber framework replaced tents or modest barracks.⁴⁵

Although the Kops Plateau complex is obviously Roman and therefore inevitably inspired by hometown traditions, it appears on first glance that only a limited number of rooms reflect Mediterranean domestic architecture. Many remaining rooms are not recognizably derivatives of Roman house architecture due to their non-specific characteristics. This leaves open the possibility that the complex was composed in part of aspects that quoted villas or townhouses and in part of elements that only existed in a military-utilitarian context. Through a process of juxtaposition that includes contemporary *praetoria* as well as domestic architecture (both villas and townhouses) in the Mediterranean we seek to determine which Mediterranean rooms were incorporated in the *praetorium* and whether these quotations appeared in fixed patterns.

CONTEXT OF AUGUSTAN PRAETORIA

The first part of the comparison focuses upon complexes that were built in the northern region and served in the same war against the Germanic tribes that lasted until AD 16. In Nijmegen, traces

of an extensive luxury residence were found only in the large-scale fortress on the Hunerberg and on the Kops Plateau.⁴⁶ The Hunerberg complex was built south of the encampment's *via principalis*. Although its plan is very fragmentary the complex seems to have featured a central hall, long corridors and an extensive colonnaded courtyard. According to the late Jan-Kees Haalebos this building could have been the Augustan *praetorium*.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the scattered traces do not reveal the complex's original plan to a degree that allows for detailed comparison. Down stream on the Rhine River in the Valkenburg fortress, a *praetorium* could positively be identified. This complex, however, was not built during the Augustan campaign, but half a century later.⁴⁸ This makes the *praetorium* unsuitable for our purpose.

A number of fortresses that were built on the banks of tributaries of the river Rhine in what is presently Germany provide a better opportunity for juxtaposition. Along the Lippe River traces of the wooden *praetoria* of Oberaden, Anreppen and Haltern were found, while the *praetorium* of Marktbreit was built on the banks of the river Main.⁴⁹ The first two complexes, Oberaden and Anreppen, so obviously share common features that Kühlborn believes it is plausible they were built by the same team (figs. 7-8).⁵⁰ The fixed pattern that becomes apparent from these *praetoria* can to a certain extent also be recognized in the *praetorium* of Haltern (fig. 9). It shows a centrally located entrance corridor with rooms measuring approximately 4x6 m on both sides. The entrance offered access to the complex's largest, if not only, central hall, generally called the atrium. The central hall had adjacent rooms on both sides. At the back of the central hall two corridors flanking a large room provided access to the courtyard. The large room opened onto the courtyard. Only in the Anreppen complex was the large room subdivided into two individual spaces of which the smaller faced the central hall. The courtyard, generally labeled the *peristyle*, was located in the central axis of the complex directly behind the atrium area. The courtyard was closed off from the encampment's public space, and the rooms that surrounded the courtyard on at least three of its sides generally were facing inwards.

Beyond the general characteristics present in all three complexes other important features should be mentioned. In the *praetorium* of Oberaden the main atrium (approximately 10x14 m) was left empty, while the adjacent hall (approximately 7x10 m) on both sides featured four free-standing wooden posts. At variance with the main atrium

of Oberaden, the principal halls of Haltern (approximately 10.5x16 m) and Anreppen (approximately 11x18 m) had free-standing wooden posts: six in Haltern and eight in Anreppen. In the adjacent halls of Oberaden traces of a drainage system were found, therefore the atria must have been covered with an inward sloping roof.⁵¹ It seems obvious that this was supported on four corners by the free-standing wooden posts. Although these posts considerably reduced the original span (10-11 m), I believe their presence was not necessary for structural reasons. The atria of Anreppen, Oberaden and Haltern are of roughly the same size, especially since, from a structural point of view, their widths are the key determining factor. If structural necessities had played a predominant role, free-standing wooden posts would also have been used in the main atrium of Oberaden. Apparently the free-standing wooden posts were erected for primarily aesthetic reasons. The structural advantage was implicit, but not the determining factor.

Different from what is observed in Oberaden, the additional central hall in the *praetorium* of Anreppen was shifted towards the perimeter walls. It is not entirely clear how its inner space was subdivided by wooden posts. The additional central halls provided access to a whole range of relatively uniform rooms measuring approximately 4x6 m. If we accept the combined appearance of spatial uniformity and repetition as an indication of non-domestic use, the area(s) surrounding the central hall(s) represent the formal and administrative part of the complex.⁵² The central atrium most likely functioned as the nucleus of the complex much in the way central halls in contemporary public buildings do.

A far greater spatial variety is present in the courtyard zone. In Oberaden the offices seem to have penetrated into the courtyard area on both sides. Only the rooms at the back of the courtyard seem to reveal a domestic arrangement. A monumental central room (7x11.5 m) formed part of the complex's central axis. On its left, or west side, four rather large rooms (approximately 5.5x7 m) were built for unknown purposes. According to Kühlborn, one of them could be heated. Traces of the oven were found directly outside the core building.⁵³ East of the principal room, a number of rooms of various sizes organized on two sides of an L-shaped corridor were believed to be possible living quarters.⁵⁴

In the peristyle area of the Anreppen *praetorium* the principal room was located on the north side (right hand side). Its special status is indicated by

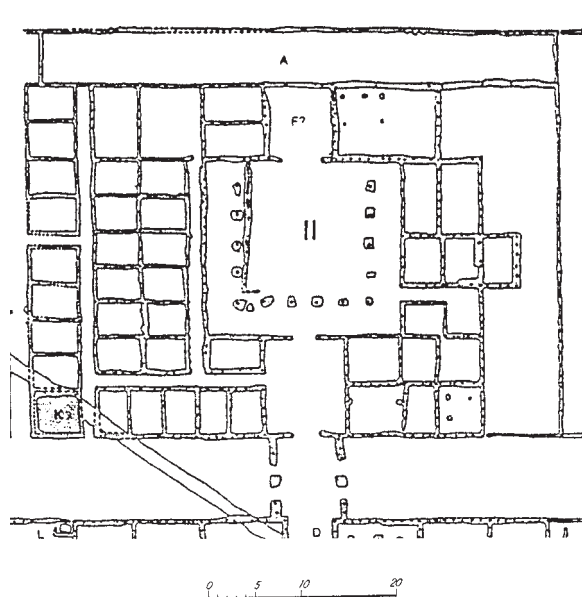


Fig. 10. *Praetorium* of Marktbreit (D), plan (after Pietsch 1993).

the increased interaxial distance of the columns in front of the room.⁵⁵ At the opposite side, a suite of rooms built more or less symmetrically side-by-side seems to have been domestic quarters. According to Förtsch this suite was derived from a 'three wing scheme' (*Dreiflügelschema*), which he considers a feature of villa architecture.⁵⁶ It consists of a central room (S) accompanied by a smaller room on both sides. Förtsch noticed that the smaller rooms and the room adjacent to the suite on its west side had a kind of antechamber. Some of the antechambers seem to have faced the peristyle, others a colonnaded area, which Förtsch argues was a *gymnasium*.⁵⁷ According to Förtsch, this three wing scheme anticipated what is generally considered to have been applied first to Nero's Domus Aurea.⁵⁸ Close observation, however, reveals traces of a continuous corridor on the north side of the suite. This may have been intended to let people pass by the domestic suite. The main orientation of the suite was pointed towards the *gymnasium*, implying that the residential suite turned its back to the peristyle.⁵⁹

In the complex of Haltern only the six satellite-like units along the core building served domestic purposes. Nothing indicates that one of these units was more important than another. Moreover there is no proof that any of them opened into the core building in a monumental way. On both sides, the two southern units were separated from the core building by a narrow corridor. Analogue to



Fig. 11. *Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, plan, A = entrance, B = atrium, C = tablinum-like room facing the atrium, D = large room facing the portico, E = corridor (drawing Marla Smith, Austin TX).*

the structure of the *praetorium* of Nijmegen, this also may have been open to the sky. The northern units framed the courtyard on both sides, but there is no evidence that the units were actually facing it. The unit on the west side reveals an arrangement of equally sized rooms of modest dimensions (approximately 3.5x5.5 m). These were probably accessible from a corridor area in the center of the unit, indicated by the interruptions present in the rooms' west wall. Given their restricted dimensions and repetitive style, these rooms were probably not intended for luxurious domestic living.⁶⁰

The complex that was identified as the *praetorium* of Marktbreit varies from the pattern just described (fig. 10). It was composed around a colonnaded courtyard and lacks the characteristic central hall. Although the large room at the back of the courtyard could be regarded as the main reception room, the strongly repetitive architecture does not indicate a residential area. The complex seems to have provided exclusively offices and rooms for public representation.

The formal-representative area of the *praetorium* of Nijmegen shares important characteristics with its counterparts in what is presently Germany (fig.

11). The entrance corridor 1, flanked by rooms on both sides, central hall 9 and room 24, which had narrow corridors on its sides, adheres to the standard layout of Augustan *praetoria* along the Lippe.

Closer observation reveals that the entrance corridor in Nijmegen is nearly as wide as the ones in Oberaden and Haltern. The entrance of the Anreppen complex is wider, but only because it is laid out in three aisles. Although the width of the entrance corridor in Nijmegen is in accordance with the general pattern, the depth of the passageway certainly exceeds the average. The reason for this deviation is the result of a double row of rooms instead of a single row in the front area of the complex.

Central hall 9 of Nijmegen was comparatively small (8.65-9.0x8.5 m), but its layout containing four free-standing wooden posts matches up with its German counterparts. These posts enclosed a small area in the middle of the room where traces of a shallow water reservoir were found. This uncovered tank discharged into a cistern outside the building. These observations indicate the original presence of a roof that sloped inwards. Analogous to the layout of the atria along the Lippe, we may

conclude that the introduction of the wooden posts in Nijmegen was likewise primarily aesthetic in nature.

The large dimensions of room 24 (6.1x8.8 m) in the Nijmegen *praetorium* are significant, especially since the formal part of the complex intended for administrative purposes and representation was relatively small in scale. This modest size is the result of a restricted number of offices being incorporated because there was apparently little need for this type of room. This makes sense since the Nijmegen complex did not have legionary status - the duties of the commander's staff did not involve daily care for a legion of 5,000 to 6,000 soldiers. The fact that, despite its non-legionary status, the Nijmegen *praetorium* included the ensemble of representative rooms (i.e. *fauces*-like entrance corridor, atrium-like central hall, *tablinum*-like room facing the central hall and large-sized room 24 facing the portico) and the impressive dimensions of room 24 together indicate that the complex was intended to accommodate military personnel of the highest-rank.

Unlike the Augustan *praetoria* in Germany, the residential area of the Nijmegen complex was built around a U-shaped colonnaded courtyard that faced the river valley. The courtyard itself was not built upon the central axis created by the arrangement of the formal entrance and the atrium. Instead, the residential area was built alongside the formal part of the *praetorium* providing its inhabitants with more privacy. In fact, the Nijmegen complex seems to reveal an arrangement that was far less formalized than what we see along the Lippe.

In this context it is also significant that the size of the residential area exceeds what might be expected. Despite its relatively limited overall dimensions (1732 m²), the Nijmegen complex had living quarters (598 m²) in between the size of Oberaden (525 m²) and Anreppen (941 m²). The same goes for the courtyard⁶¹ and the major living rooms. In Nijmegen the latter measured 6.4x10.2 m (room 27) and 6.0x12.1 m (room 42).⁶² In Anreppen the largest room in the courtyard zone measured approximately 6.8x8.8 m. It was located in the middle of the north wing. In Oberaden the principal room directly opposite the atrium area measured 7x11.5 m circa.⁶³

Different from the major living rooms in the fortresses along the Lippe, rooms 27 and 42 featured six free-standing wooden posts. For what reasons were these posts introduced? Analogue to what has been said with regard to the posts in the atrium, it is highly unlikely that they were erected for pri-

marily structural reasons, especially considering that there is no evidence of such posts in the wider formal-representation room 24. The non-structural nature of these posts can be further substantiated by comparison with the *praetoria* along the Lippe. In neither Anreppen nor Oberaden did the major rooms in the courtyard areas feature free-standing posts.

Instead of being built in the center of the encampment, the *praetorium* of Nijmegen was erected on the edge of a natural slope at the periphery of the fortress. Apparently, the view over the river valley was considered more crucial than the *praetorium's* relationship with the inner space of the encampment. Since the river side of the encampment was not fortified with a rampart made of wood and earth, both the U-shaped colonnaded courtyard 35, along with the adjacent portico, and major reception room 24 provided a panoramic view of the river valley, and, more crucially, enemy territory in the distance. These characteristics enabled the architecture itself to focus one's attention on the goal of the military operations. In this particular sense, the Nijmegen complex was of a far more dynamic and militarily aggressive nature than the formalized, inward looking legionary fortresses along the Lippe.

CONTEXT OF MEDITERRANEAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

The *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau and its counterparts in present Germany were inevitably influenced by Mediterranean architecture. The latter formed the background, both theoretically and practically, for the designer and commissioners of the *praetorium*. To what extent were Mediterranean features quoted? And, why were such features considered suitable? These central questions will be addressed through a process of juxtaposition. To justify this process we must first explore the hometown architecture in some detail.

Thanks to the large number of extremely well preserved houses, analyses of Republican and early Imperial domestic architecture generally focus on Pompeii. The question is, however, to what extent Pompeii is a proper example of Roman domestic architecture.⁶⁴ The scholarly dispute hones in on the issue of whether or not Pompeii can be used to illuminate Vitruvius' exposé on private architecture and vice versa.⁶⁵ Since this contribution partly depends on both the Pompeian evidence and the theoretical frame provided by Vitruvius, this matter requires our attention.

It is correct to label Pompeii as a provincial town. It is also true that Pompeii's prominent position in

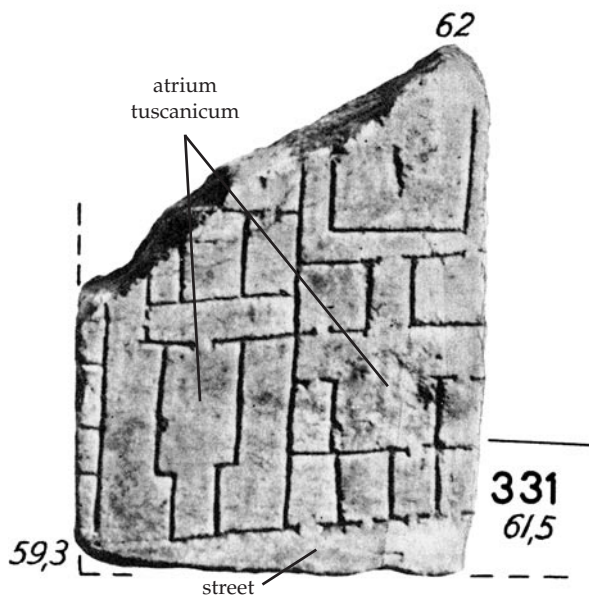


Fig. 12. *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragment 331 (after Carettoni 1960).

archaeological research is due to the catastrophe, which struck the city in AD 79. Furthermore it is not implausible that local socio-economic circumstances influenced the way the Pompeian housing file was composed. This, however, does not mean that the citizens of Pompeii built a different type of house than citizens in Rome. There is no evidence indicating that the atrium and atrium/peristyle house bore strong local characteristics.⁶⁶ On the contrary, it becomes increasingly clear that the atrium house, being of Etruscan-Italic origin, spread all over present Italy and beyond.⁶⁷ In Republican Rome, Pompeii and other provincial towns, houses were built according to basically the same principles.⁶⁸ From a vast number of examples spread over an extensive area, I will mention the atrium houses of Fregellae built during the 2nd century BC⁶⁹ and three canonical Republican houses in Ostia found beneath the so-called Casa basilicale (I,ix,1) and also originating from the 2nd century BC.⁷⁰ In Cosa, the Southwest House (rebuilt as the House of the Birds) was built in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC, while the Casa dello Scheletro has been attributed to the early 1st century BC.⁷¹ In Vulci, the Casa del Criptoportico with its vast Tuscan atrium was built during the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.⁷² In Rome the sample of preserved Republican houses is limited. Nevertheless, it is clear that houses there were built according to the well-known atrium and atrium/peristyle layouts as shown in

the atrium tract of the Casa dei Grifi.⁷³ The *domus* of Scaurus may have been one of Rome's largest atrium complexes.⁷⁴ It has been supposed that its tetrastyle atrium would have measured 90 Roman feet in length.⁷⁵ A considerable number of atrium/peristyle houses are present on the *Forma Urbis Romae*.⁷⁶ Best known are the three houses built side-by-side facing the *vicus Patricius* (today's *via Urbana*).⁷⁷ Closer examination of the marble plan reveals the presence of at least another nine atrium and atrium/peristyle houses, like the houses on fragment 331 (fig. 12).⁷⁸ The house on the right hand side shows a Tuscan atrium that was anticipated by a row of shops facing the street. The atrium was surrounded by various rooms including canonical *alae* and a *tablinum*, both completely open to the atrium. The *tablinum* and the room to its right were accessible from the peristyle which itself was indicated by an uninterrupted line. The remaining seven atrium/peristyle houses are found on fragments 28 a, 81-left, 81-right, 132, 331-left, 415 and 484. Fragment 28 c shows the plan of an atrium house without a peristyle.⁷⁹

During the Republic and the early Empire the 'traditional' house with an oblong atrium covered with an inward sloping roof was not the only type of domestic dwelling. A far more modest house suited the needs of those who were less fortunate. This different type of atrium house, also being of Etruscan-Italic origin and corresponding to Prayon's Cerveteri type D, had an athwart lying atrium of restricted depth.⁸⁰ As a rule this 'alternative' house was built without side rooms. Given the general absence of a proper *impluvium* the atrium would have had a low-pitched pent-roof (*atrium testudinatum*). In some cases an axial arrangement can be observed, but this certainly was not a standard feature. Based on the building technique in limestone framework type B, the oldest Pompeian examples of this atrium house, Houses I 3, 20 and I 3, 25, have been ascribed to the 4th century BC.⁸¹ Seven more examples originate in the 3rd century BC.⁸² From this time onward the 'alternative' atrium house developed into a wide spread type of modest dwelling. Sometimes the traditional *tablinum* arrangement was abandoned in favor of a suite of three rooms in which the middle room was merely a corridor. In Pompeii such houses were built along the *via di Nocera*, like the ones in *insula* II 9 published by Anna Maria Sodo.⁸³ Houses with plans that resemble the Pompeian evidence have been documented in Herculaneum,⁸⁴ Cosa⁸⁵ and Ostia.⁸⁶

The absence of side rooms and the home's non-elite status may have been a reason for Vitruvius

to disregard this 'alternative' dwelling. Probably a more important reason, however, was the fact that the modest dimensions of the various rooms were fixed at what must have been considered a minimum standard, leaving no room - and no need - for intellectually motivated architectural intervention.⁸⁷

Given the wide spread and standard appearance of the atrium house it is almost certain that Vitruvius automatically but not intentionally covered the Pompeian dwellings of this type.⁸⁸ This seems to be true for another reason. In his sixth book Vitruvius explains general characteristics of the townhouse with an atrium and a peristyle. Although he is very explicit about the proper layout and proportions of the most important individual rooms, Vitruvius offers no explanation for how they all fit together. Without the archaeological evidence, Vitruvius' exposé alone would not enable us to reconstruct an atrium house. The same applied to his fellow architects. If they had not been familiar with the overall concept, Vitruvius' guidelines would have been of little use to them. This, of course, implies that the layout of the house with atrium and peristyle must have been well known.⁸⁹ It therefore is justified to consider the Pompeian houses as representative examples not only of a wide spread architectural practice, but also of the townhouses referred to by Vitruvius.⁹⁰ The Pompeian dwellings and Vitruvius' theoretical framework complement one another and together provide a reliable impression of late Republican domestic architecture.

As Förtsch proposed previously,⁹¹ Roman villas may have been an important source of inspiration for those who built the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau seeing as it was common practice from the 1st century BC onward for elite families to not only possess a house in town, but also one or more villas in the countryside, like Campania.⁹² For example, the Bay of Naples was quite a popular area at the time.⁹³ Paul Zanker refers to Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.9.3) and Seneca (*Ep.* 51.11) indicating the existence of villas at Baiae that belonged to Pompey and Julius Caesar.⁹⁴ Referring to Seneca (*De ira* 3.21.5), Richard de Kind mentions the existence of a villa on the coast near Herculaneum that belonged to Tiberius.⁹⁵ But best known is probably Tiberius' Villa Jovis on Capri.⁹⁶ The list of villas can be continued with the Villa of Oplontis (60-50 BC), that later would have belonged to the *gens Poppaea*.⁹⁷ Given the socially elite presence in this area, it would be difficult to deny the representative nature of the Campanian evidence, moreover since the phenomenon of the Roman luxury villa devel-

oped out of this area and neighbouring Latium.⁹⁸

For our purposes, two elements of the luxury villa require further attention: the sequence present in the disposition of the principal rooms and the way these principal rooms were arranged with a particular focus placed on the natural environment being either a landscape or seascape.⁹⁹ The former is important since we know for a fact that the northern *praetoria* were approached through the atrium, just like the houses in town. Such an arrangement is seen in a limited number of villas, such as in the urban section of the Villa of Settefinestre (40-30 BC) located near Cosa.¹⁰⁰ Its plan, as presented by Andrea Carandini, contains many elements already familiar to us from the basic layout of the contemporary townhouse, including *fauces*, *alae* and a *tablinum*. The early Augustan Villa of San Marco (Stabiae) had two entrances. On the southeast side of the complex, the front door was anticipated by a *vestibulum* with a stone bench on either side. Once one had passed the front door, the *fauces* provided access to a tetrastyle atrium. From here, a narrow corridor led to a built-in portico that was also accessible directly from the street. Between the portico and the atrium one finds a *tablinum* which faced both. The *tablinum* had the corridor just mentioned on its south side.¹⁰¹

Other villas deviated from this sequence of principal rooms. They obeyed the scheme described by Vitruvius, who wrote:

...in the city the atria are customarily next to the entrance, whereas in the countryside and in pseudo-urban buildings the peristyle comes first, then afterward the atria, and these have paved porticoes around them looking into palaestras and walkways (6.5.3).¹⁰²

A 'classic' example of the Vitruvian scheme is offered by the Villa dei Misteri (80-70 BC) just outside Pompeii. Its principal living rooms were built in the atrium zone and offered a view over the Bay of Naples with Capri in the distance.¹⁰³ The Villa dei Papiri (50-40 BC) that was built in the immediate vicinity of Herculaneum had a similar arrangement. Upon entering the complex, one came into the peristyle.¹⁰⁴ Just as in the Villa dei Misteri, the peristyle offered access to the atrium area that accommodated the principal living rooms. The late Republican Villa di Arianna in Campo Varano (Stabiae) also was approached through the peristyle zone.¹⁰⁵

In addition to the sequence of rooms the relationship between the Mediterranean villa and its natural setting is important to our analysis because the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was intentionally built with a view. Not only room 24 but also

the portico (35) that bordered the complex on its river side and the peristyle area (35) offered a panoramic view of the valley (fig. 13). Those who approached the fortress from the direction of the Germanic territory saw the *praetorium* high upon the edge of the ice-pushed ridge. This view was dominated by the colonnades (35) just mentioned. In this respect, the *praetorium* probably had counterparts in the contemporary *villae (sub)urbanae* and *villae maritimae*. An impression of the latter is offered by the villa landscapes featured in Pompeian wall paintings (fig. 14). According to Willem Peters villa-like architectural motifs first appeared in Second Style wall paintings, but it wasn't until the successive period of the Third Style that villa landscapes developed into beloved genre pieces.¹⁰⁶ The majority of such villas were built during the late Republic and thereafter.¹⁰⁷

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE FORMAL-REPRESENTATIVE AREA

Now that the context of contemporary domestic architecture has been explored, we can turn to establishing the exact nature of the quotations that occur in the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau. At first glance, parts of the complex seem to reflect the Mediterranean atrium house.¹⁰⁸ Closer observation, however, reveals that the presumed relationship is more complicated. This not only applies to Nijmegen, but also to the complexes that were built along the Lippe. Förtsch already addressed this issue when he noticed that the overall layout of the Anreppen *praetorium* had no equivalents in regular atrium houses.¹⁰⁹

The entrance of the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau already constitutes an exception. At variance with Mediterranean practice there was no subdivision into a vestibule and *fauces*. In upper class Roman townhouses and villas the vestibule was located on the street side of the front door, while the *fauces* formed part of the interior of the residence. The entrance corridor of the *praetorium* seems to have featured a front door immediately at the facade.

The atrium, previously referred to as central room 9 (8.6-9.0x8.5 m) was shaped in accordance with Mediterranean practice. Its subdivision with the help of four wooden columns (diameter 20-30 cm) has already been discussed. Since these columns were introduced for merely aesthetic reasons, central space 9 must be considered equivalent to the tetrastyle atrium as described by Vitruvius (6.3.1-2).¹¹⁰ Atrium 9 had a close parallel in the Pompeian Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15 measuring 9.38x9.83



Fig. 13. *Praetorium* on the Kops Plateau, the portico and the peristyle area offered a panoramic view of the River Waal valley (photo Kees Peterse).



Fig. 14. Villa landscape from the tablinum of the Casa di M.L. Fronto (V 4, a) in Pompeii (photo Kees Peterse).

m) and House VI 15, 6 (8.18x8.33-8.41 m; fig. 24).

The arrangement of the side rooms, however, differed from standard Mediterranean practice. What we do not see in the *praetorium* of Nijmegen and in its counterparts along the Lippe are the *alae*, characteristic of the townhouse and the majority of early luxury villas.¹¹¹ Probably because the *praetoria* were intentionally built without *alae*, the arrangement of the rooms on both sides of the atrium did not have to be symmetrical.

Instead of an arrangement with *alae*, a sequence of five rooms (10-13) was found at the west side of the atrium. Given its limited width of 1.2 m room 11 seems to have been a restroom.¹¹² Room 12 a (1.2x1.2 m) was clearly too small to be entered. If not intended for people it could have held a water heater made of lead and bronze.¹¹³ Since all water related rooms were normally built close together, the rooms that remain could have belonged to a small bath-suite.¹¹⁴ This would make room 12 (2.9x4.0 m) the actual bathroom accommodating

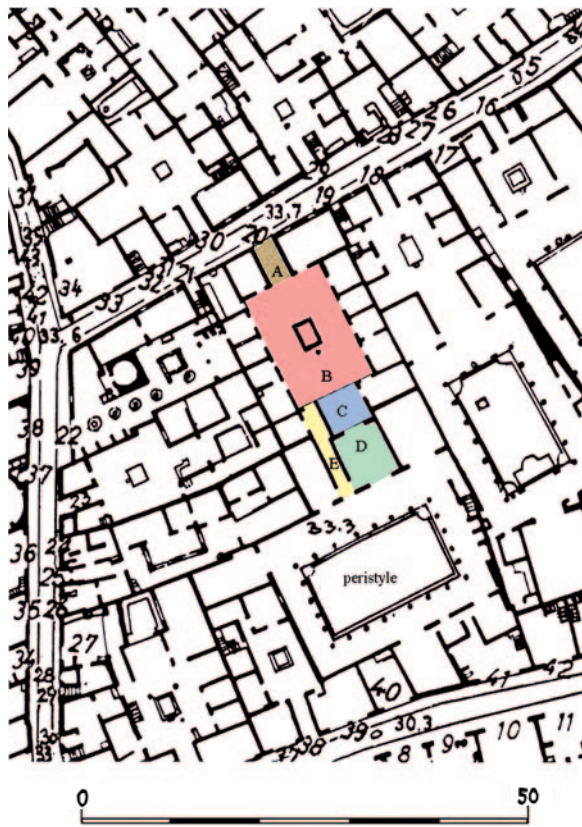


Fig. 15. House VII 2, 20 in Pompeii, A = entrance, B = Tuscan atrium, C = tablinum facing the atrium, D = large room (oecus) facing the peristyle, E = corridor called andron (after Eschebach 1993).

at least one bathtub that was placed in a niche between rooms 10 and 12. Such an arrangement would imply that there was no passage from rooms 10 to 12. Room 10 (2.6x2.6 m) may have been a toilet intended for men, whereas toilet 11 could have been created exclusively for members of the opposite sex.¹¹⁵ A similar arrangement is documented in the Villa of Oplontis.¹¹⁶ Remaining room 13 (2.7x4.1 m) could have been a combined *apodyterium* and *frigidarium* accessible from the atrium.

Room 16 (3.3x4.5 m) is located on the central axis of the atrium zone. Typologically, this room may refer to the Mediterranean *tablinum*. The precise function of the room, however, is difficult to determine. It may have been the official cabinet and record room of the encampment's commander. A room of similar function and typological origin can be identified in the *praetorium* of Anreppen. Here the *tablinum*-like room featured timber columns in *antis* that were erected in alignment with

the columns of the Corinthian atrium. In Haltern and Oberaden the *tablinum*-like room was omitted in favor of a large room that faced the peristyle.¹¹⁷

The rooms west of room 16 are along a narrow (1.0-1.1 m wide) L-shaped corridor (17 and 20) that connects the atrium and a secondary entrance on the west side of the building. Given the fact that rooms 21-22 (maybe also 18-19) were directly accessible from the outside through a non-monumental secondary entrance they probably formed part of the service area of the complex. Rooms 21-22 (respectively 4.5x7.2 m and 3.3x5.8 m) may have been the complex's kitchen which served formal receptions and banquets in the spacious room 24 (6.1x8.8 m). The corridors on the south and west sides of room 24 isolated it from both the atrium (9) and the service area (21-22). Room 24 was accessible from both, but in such a way that staff passing through did not disturb its intended formal atmosphere. The corridor on the east side of room 24 formed part of the outside drainage system (25-26).

As has been explained before, room 24 in the Nijmegen *praetorium* had counterparts in present Germany. These, however, were always located on the central axis of the complex at the back of the atrium, while room 24 was shifted to the right side of the formal-representative area. In Anreppen, a room that may be considered a reflection of the Mediterranean *tablinum* and a larger room facing the peristyle were built back-to-back. This larger room is also found in Oberaden and Haltern, whereas the *tablinum*-like room is omitted. In Nijmegen we find both. If rooms 16 and 24 had been built back-to-back a narrow strip of little use would have been left on either side. Furthermore, in such an axial arrangement the overall depth of rooms 16 and 24 would have exceeded the depth of the back range. Apparently, a practical solution was found by shifting room 24 to the side. This pragmatic decision simultaneously created the possibility of direct access to room 24 from the domestic quarters (27-31) through corridor 25. Last but not least, thanks to this shift room 24 was located in the center of the formal-representative area.¹¹⁸

Both the layout of Anreppen and the arrangement documented in Oberaden and Haltern had a parallel in Pompeii. The Casa di N. Popidius Priscus (VII 2, 20) shows a *tablinum* and an *oecus* built back-to-back (fig. 15). Differing from the arrangement in Anreppen, the narrow corridor is found on only one side. In the Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII 2, 39) the *tablinum* was remodeled into a room that more or less turned its back on the atrium.¹¹⁹

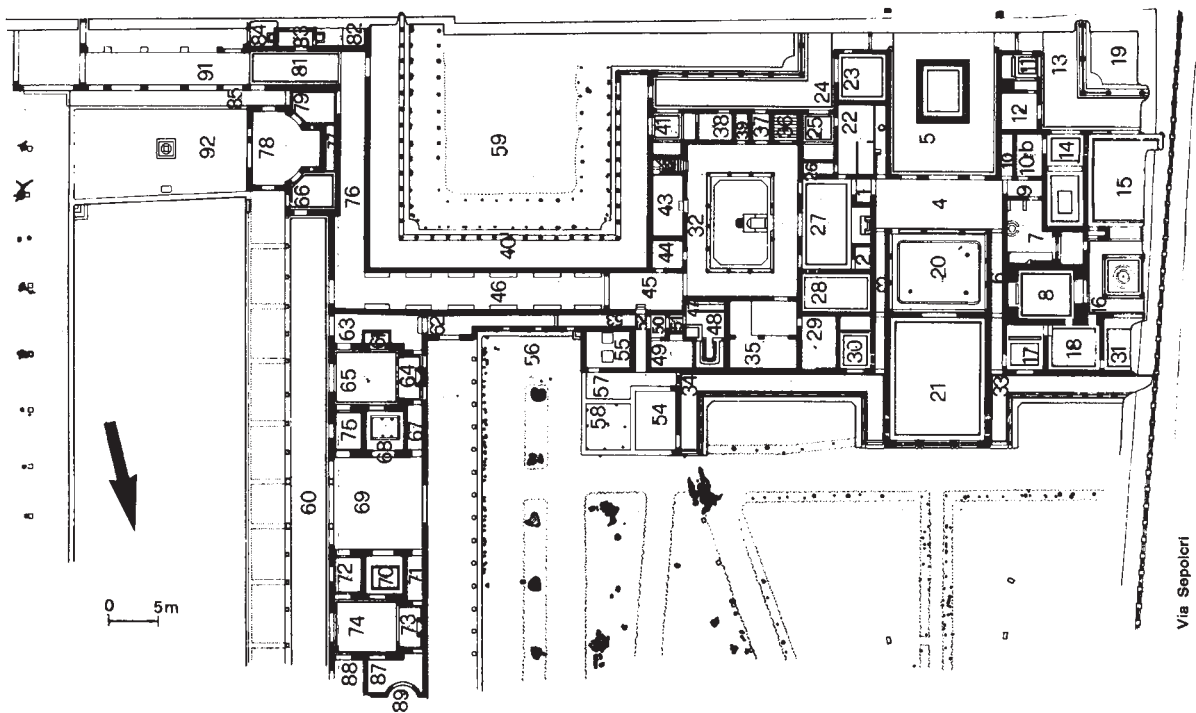


Fig. 16. Villa of Oplontis, plan (after Jashemski).

Like major room α on the middle floor of this three-storey terraced dwelling the 'tablinum' was focused toward the valley of the River Sarno. The relationship between the remodeled *tablinum* and the atrium was maintained only by means of a large window. The room had a narrow corridor - *andron* η - on its west side.

Based on this information we can identify the larger room as quotation of the Mediterranean *oecus*, or a room of even greater extravagance: the *cenatio*, which was a prestigious dining room.¹²⁰ In this respect Förtsch refers to the large *oecus* (21) on the northern part of the central axis of the Villa of Oplontis (figs. 16-17).¹²¹ Jens-Arne Dickmann addresses the same room both as *oecus* and *cenatio*.¹²² Similar to the northern *praetoria*, room 21 in the Villa of Oplontis had a narrow corridor on both sides. Closer observation, however, reveals that the atrium-*oecus* suite of the northern *praetoria* is not an exact parallel of the Villa of Oplontis. The latter featured a corridor area and an enclosed garden (open to the sky), or *viridarium*, between the Tuscan atrium 5 and *oecus* 21. Moreover, in the Villa of Oplontis the atrium-*oecus* suite was not part of the initial construction plans. The atrium was built during the period of the Second Style (60-50 BC),¹²³ while *oecus* 21 was added during the Third Style remodeling in early Augustan times.¹²⁴

These observations demonstrate that the formal-representative area of the *praetorium* on the Kops



Fig. 17. Villa of Oplontis, large-sized *oecus* 21 on the side of the villa that faced north, towards Vesuvius (photo Kees Peterse).

Plateau was strongly influenced by hometown domestic architecture. The architects, however, did not simply copy a Roman townhouse, but rather composed a new ensemble out of familiar features using the atrium as the key element.¹²⁵ The reasons they deviated from creating an exact replica may be related to the fact that the *praetorium*'s function differed from that of a Roman townhouse. Offices, archives and a number of service rooms had to be integrated. On the other hand, the atrium area of the *praetoria* did not have to be arranged to meet the needs of the daily *salutatio*.

This may explain why in Oberaden and Haltern the presence of a *tablinum*-like room was not considered crucial, whereas in urban contexts, despite an undeniable change, this principle room remained a central element for at least another couple of decades.¹²⁶ Until the end of Pompeii's existence, *tablina* were built in the traditional manner as demonstrated by the post AD 62 *tablinum* of House VIII 2, 16.¹²⁷ In Herculaneum, the Casa del Bicentenario (V 15-16), built during the Julio-Claudian period, still featured a traditional *tablinum* that opened onto the atrium and the peristyle.¹²⁸

ATRIUM: BEARER OF MEANING?

If the people who commissioned and built the northern *praetoria* developed a new kind of building from familiar domestic components, why did they select the atrium as the key-element? Förtsch addresses this question in some detail.¹²⁹ He emphasizes that the atrium gradually went out of fashion during the Augustan era and, thus, he ascribes a symbolic function to the presence of atria in the northern *praetoria*. He believes the atrium - the Roman space *par excellence* - would have been applied mainly for its signification value (*Identifikationswert*).¹³⁰ It is interesting to consider why the Roman army would have drawn upon a domestic feature that in hometown domestic culture was deliberately abandoned because it was considered outdated. Furthermore, was a feature that was as common as the atrium recognized by Romans as a symbol of their culture? Such an understanding of the atrium would have required a wide spread awareness among Roman citizens that people elsewhere built luxury townhouses without atria. At the same time, for non-Romans the atrium could only have had the connotation of Rome if they were aware of the role the atrium played in the genesis of the Roman townhouse.

It must be noted that there is no archaeological evidence indicating that at the beginning of the principate the atrium had lost so much of its former significance that it was being readily regarded as old-fashioned.¹³¹ It is beyond doubt that there were changes, but the atrium house most certainly did not disappear overnight.¹³² According to John Ward-Perkins changes initially 'amounted to the compression of familiar architectural forms rather than to the emergence of any that were radically new'.¹³³ In his opinion the process of change would have taken at least until the establishment of the Empire, and even then it would have been a long

time before the atrium totally disappeared. In Pompeii, the predominance of the atrium complex lasted until the end of the city's existence not only because the old houses were not demolished and replaced, but also because in the Augustan era, and even later, new atrium houses were built.¹³⁴

Supporting evidence for the predominance of the atrium complex during the early Augustan era is found in Vitruvius' chapters on private architecture. Regarding the townhouse, Vitruvius focuses exclusively on the arrangement that included an atrium. I consider it implausible that he would have described an architectural arrangement that was already considered outdated. He might have been a bit old-fashioned in his adherence to older moral and aesthetic values, but this would not have stopped him from mentioning important novelties.¹³⁵ Good examples are his rejection of wall paintings that were becoming less structural in nature and his characterization of *opus reticulatum* as a fashionable way of building walls (Vitr. 2.8.1), which considering the archaeological evidence was true.¹³⁶ For instance, in Ostia it took until the early Augustan period before *opus reticulatum* became a prevalent technique.¹³⁷

We should bear in mind that the atrium started to disappear from townhouse architecture for two different reasons.¹³⁸ Primarily this disappearance was due to the rise of plot prices in the city resulting from increased population density in urban areas.¹³⁹ This is precisely why apartment houses (*insulae*) started to develop. Simultaneously, villa residences with their ability to integrate architecture, cultivated nature, luxury and beautiful natural settings became ever more popular. Important characteristics of the villa were adapted into the townhouse which increasingly aimed at establishing a reciprocal relationship between the major living area and the cultivated nature present in gardens overstuffed with fountains and statues. Predictably, attention gradually shifted from the atrium to the far more pleasant and comfortable environment of the peristyle zone. This shift in focus is exemplified by the Pompeian Casa degli Amorini dorati (VI 16, 7) and, more extremely, by the remodeled garden area of the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2).¹⁴⁰

These developments, however, had no relevance for the formal-representative area of the northern *praetoria*. In this region, land prices and urban density were non-issues and the artificial relationship between living and nature did not comply with the military's brief. What they needed was a monumental central hall that served as both a logistic nucleus for the administrative offices

and a formal meeting area for receiving guests. The room that best met these stipulations was the atrium, and thus it was selected. The suitability of the atrium as a formal reception area and the conception of it as a public space within a domestic context become apparent in Vitruvius' explanation of the relationship between the arrangement of a house and the social status of its inhabitants:

And so, for those of moderate income, magnificent vestibules, tablina, and atria are unnecessary, because they perform their duties by making the rounds visiting others, rather than having others make the rounds visiting them (6.5.1).¹⁴¹

In addition, further archaeological evidence demonstrates that the selection of the atrium as the key-element of the formal-representative area was a non-symbolic decision. In the encampment on the Hunerberg, west of the Kops Plateau, Haalebos excavated a house (no. 9) that included a nucleus closely related to the modest 'alternative' atrium houses documented in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Cosa and Ostia (fig. 18).¹⁴² From the *via principalis* the entrance area provided access to an atrium without side rooms. At the back of the atrium, a narrow corridor with an adjacent room on either side offered accessibility to an enclosed courtyard. Based on stratigraphical evidence Haalebos assigned this house that was built in timber framework to the Augustan period.¹⁴³ A similar house was excavated in Cambodunum-Kempten in present day Bavaria (fig. 19).¹⁴⁴ In contrast to what we see in Nijmegen, the house in Bavaria was entered through a portico and, thanks to a relatively wide plot, featured a *tablinum* instead of a corridor at the rear of the atrium. According to Gerhard Weber this house was built during the reign of Caligula

or Claudius.¹⁴⁵ As the oldest example of this type of dwelling, Weber mentions a late Augustan house found in the Roman army base of Lahnau-Waldgirmes.¹⁴⁶ According to Von Schnurbein the first Augustan building phase of the encampment of Haltern featured at least six standardized atrium/peristyle houses.¹⁴⁷ Two additional houses of this type were constructed during the camp's east side expansion for which the Varus Defeat of AD 9 provides a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁴⁸ The fact that not only the Augustan *praetoria*, but also the contemporary accommodations for officers featured atria makes it implausible that this room was introduced in these military complexes for symbolic purposes. Most likely, the atrium was chosen without much consideration and simply because it was the standard solution for what the bases required.

FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREA

In its general layout, the residential area of the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau looked a bit like a

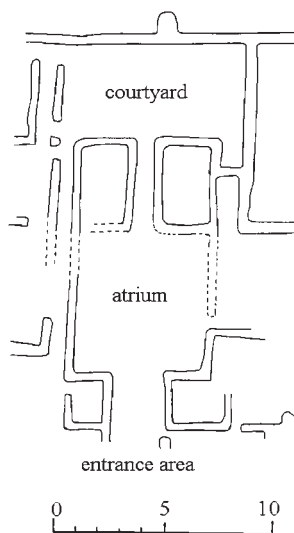


Fig. 18. Augustan fortress on the Hunerberg in Nijmegen, plan of House no. 9 (drawing Kees Peterse after Haalebos 1991, by courtesy of the Radboud University of Nijmegen, Institute of Roman Provincial Archaeology).

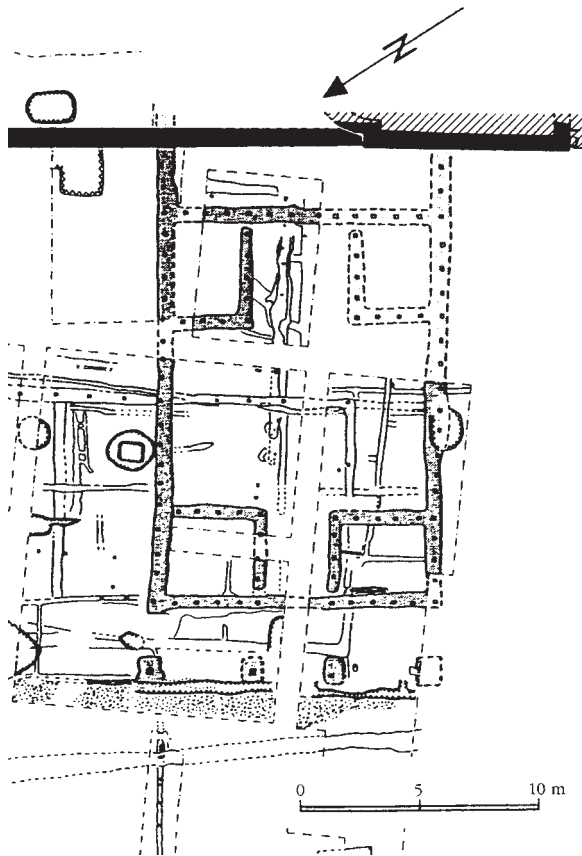


Fig. 19. Kempten, Cambodunum, house built in timber framework (after Weber 2001).

cropped villa in which only the core section remained. All major rooms focused inward upon the U-shaped colonnaded courtyard that functioned as a three-sided peristyle. This arrangement, together with the portico that bordered the complex on the valley side, bore similarities to the *villa urbana* and the *villa maritima*. According to Zanker, the view of the landscape must be recognized as an important characteristic of the new lifestyle enabled by the villa arrangement.¹⁴⁹ In Pompeii and Herculaneum, the best parallels to the villa arrangement are the houses built on top of and beyond the former city walls. These houses were intended to bring villa-life into the city, and thus again point to the villa as the major source of inspiration for the layout of the residential area in the *praetorium*.¹⁵⁰

Some of the individual rooms can be related to Mediterranean counterparts. Rooms 27 and 42 have already been identified as major living rooms and it has been argued that their free-standing wooden columns were erected primarily for aesthetic reasons. This leaves hardly any



Fig. 20. Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i) in Pompeii, tetrastyle oecus (photo Archäologisches Institut, Universität Freiburg / J. Kramer).

doubt that rooms 27 and 42 were an equivalent of the Mediterranean *oecus*.¹⁵¹ At this point, we need to distinguish the Corinthian *oecus* from the tetrastyle *oecus* both of which featured columns. Vitruvius mentioned principal characteristics of the former:

Corinthian oeci have single columns placed either on a podium or on the ground, and above they should have epistyles and cornices either of fine woodwork or of stucco. In addition, over the cornices they have curved coffering bent along the arc of a circle (6.3.9).¹⁵²

Generally the Corinthian *oecus* featured more than four columns in a U-shaped arrangement with more than two columns on each side, as seen in the Villa of Settefinestre nearby Cosa and the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10) in Pompeii.¹⁵³ The tetrastyle *oecus* differed from its Corinthian counterpart in probably only one aspect: it had four columns in total, as seen in the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento in Pompeii (V 2, i) (fig. 20). Since the arrangement of the columns made the *oeci* in Nijmegen two-sided rather than U-shaped they most closely correspond to the tetrastyle *oecus*. In Nijmegen, however, six instead of four columns were erected.

Regarding the further detailing of the *oeci*, one can imagine that within the structural context of wooden framework the barrel vault was made of timber to which thatch and a stucco facing were applied.¹⁵⁴ The wooden battens that carried the stucco vault were probably attached to the joisting in the manner Vitruvius describes (7.3.1-3). We have reason to believe that the interior walls of the entire *praetorium* were covered with plaster that was applied over the wattle-and-daub fill and the framework itself.¹⁵⁵ Vitruvius describes the plastering process and explains the occurrence of fissures:

Even the half-timbers used in plasterwork create fissures because of the placement of their uprights and crosspieces. When they are first plastered over, they swell when they absorb the moisture, and then as they dry they contract; shrunk down like this, they break up the firmness of the plaster (2.8.20).¹⁵⁶

Vitruvius also describes a method for applying plaster on both the fill and the timber framework that will prevent cracking (7.3.11).

By the time the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was built, the Corinthian and tetrastyle *oecus* had become fashionable.¹⁵⁷ The oldest Corinthian *oecus* of Pompeii is found in the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10), where the non-structural columns were an integrated part of the Second Style remodelling (70-60 BC) at the rear of the vast peristyle.¹⁵⁸ According to Volker Michael Strocka the room itself

had already been built in the first decade of the 1st century BC.¹⁵⁹ Twenty years later (50-40 BC) in the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i) a large room at the back of the peristyle zone was remodeled into a tetrastyle *oecus*.¹⁶⁰ Closer to Rome, the Villa of Settefinestre was embellished with a Corinthian *oecus* in a Second Style context around 40-30 BC.¹⁶¹ At approximately the same time, Augustus commissioned a tetrastyle *oecus* (room 13) for his residence on the Palatine (fig. 21).¹⁶²

In its elongated layout, the Nijmegen *oeci* most closely paralleled the tetrastyle *oecus* in the Pompeian Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (50-40 BC) and the House of Augustus on the Palatine (36-28 BC).¹⁶³ Rooms 27 and 42 measured respectively 6.4x10.2 m and 6.0x12.1 m. On both sides of these rooms a strip of approximately 0.8 m was left between the columns and the wall. The tetrastyle *oecus* of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento measured 5.3x10.7 m, and the strip between the columns and the wall was circa 0.60 m wide.¹⁶⁴ Whereas the tetrastyle *oecus* of the House of Augustus measured 6.2x8.8 m, and the columns stood 0.75 m from the wall.¹⁶⁵

In its more or less standard dimensions the tetrastyle *oecus* and its Nijmegen equivalent with six columns seem to constitute a standard blueprint in which utility and aesthetics were properly balanced. We know from Vitruvius that this balancing between utility and visual effect was a

major issue. After having explained how to properly calculate the width of the *tablinum* from the width of the atrium Vitruvius states:

Therefore I thought that the principles for the dimensions of atria should be recorded precisely in the interests of function and appearance (6.3.5).¹⁶⁶

Since the inclusion of the columns in rooms 27 and 42 was based on primarily aesthetic motives, one may presume that the columns were considered to add to the prestige of the room and the activities it accommodated.¹⁶⁷ But then why have these posts not also been applied in room 24, especially considering this room seems to have been the most suitable place for ostentatious display? Here we must bear in mind that room 24 was probably the equivalent of the Mediterranean *cenatio* intended for receptions, banquets and other activities that may have involved large groups of people.¹⁶⁸ It was the complex's formal-representation room *par excellence*, and it never featured an interior decorative colonnade. Rooms 27 and 42, on the other hand, referred to a different kind of Mediterranean room, a specific type of *oecus* that fulfilled its purpose in the private atmosphere of the residential quarters. On most occasions, these rooms accommodated only a limited number of people. One can imagine that the free-standing posts considerably affected the amount of useable space. In private living quarters this reduction in space would not have been problematic. In the formal reception area it apparently was. This understanding of space is substantiated by the instructions of Vitruvius:

Corinthian *oeci*, tetrastyle *oeci*, and those called Egyptian, should employ the same principles of length and width as recorded for triclinia, but because of the inclusion of columns they should be made more spacious (6.3.8).¹⁶⁹

So if someone wanted to build a Corinthian *oecus*, he not only needed the space required for a *triclinium*, but also had to add space on two or three sides to accommodate the columns.¹⁷⁰ The columns were generally put on pedestals. If, on the other hand, one began with a space of fixed dimensions that had to handle large groups of people, it was best to omit the columns.

The special status of rooms 27 and 42 also becomes apparent from the way the colonnade in front of these rooms was worked out in detail.¹⁷¹ The average interaxial distance of the wooden columns measures 3 m. The eastern wing of the colonnade, however, deviated from this pattern. In front of room 42 one observes an increased interaxial distance of 4.5 m. This reflects the inter-

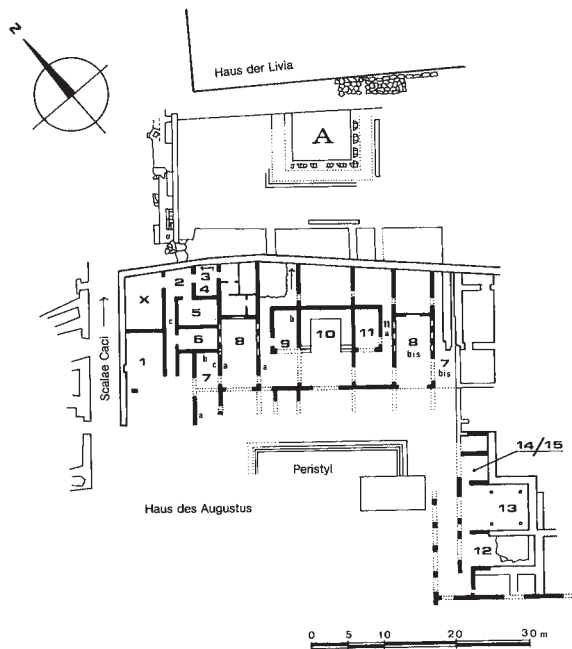


Fig. 21. House of Augustus on the Palatine, plan (after Carettoni 1983).

nal division of the residential area's east wing: the center point between the two columns aligns with the central axis of room 42. Because of this arrangement the system of uniform intercolumniations could not be continued. South of room 42 the remaining distance was divided into three equal parts of 2.4 m. On the north side the remaining distance was subdivided into two sections of 3.3 m.

This procedure is a well-known Mediterranean architectural phenomenon.¹⁷² By shifting the columns to the sides, a framed view of the cultivated nature in the peristyle area was created. The frame had various layers of which the one closest to the viewer was the opening in the west wall of room 42. Given the coulisse-like construction of the view it must have created an awareness of distance. At the same time, the increased interaxial distance at the front of room 42 indicated the importance of the room when viewed from the outside. At this point it should be noted that an increased intercolumniation in front of a room of high status generally worked with other architectural features to emphasize importance. In most cases, the location of the room within the peristyle tract was highlighted by additional height and the shape of its gabled double-pitched roof, both signifying prestige. This is exemplified by the Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4).¹⁷³ Here, in front of the *tablinum* the north portico of the peristyle features a broad intercolumniation and a pediment on top of its entablature (fig. 22). In front of the extremely large *oecus* 18, the east portico shows an exceptionally wide intercolumniation, while the room itself was of greater height. The wall facing the peristyle had a large window in its upper section in order to bring more daylight into the *oecus*.

Finally, the important position of room 42 within the complex is marked by the presence of a cellar, which is believed to have been built for storing money and valuables. The best way to protect these precious goods was, more or less literally, to sit on top of them.¹⁷⁴

Now that the function and status of room 42 are known, we have a better chance of arriving at an interpretation of the remaining rooms built in the east wing of the complex. Starting from the public space in front of the building, narrow corridor 36 (1.4 m wide) can be regarded as the east wing's *fauces*. It provided access to another corridor (39) built at a right angle to the *fauces*. From the adjacent four rooms, numbers 37, 38 and 41 were probably accessible only from corridor 39. These three rooms may have been *cubicula* intended as bedrooms or private cabinets. Larger room 40 (4.3 x 8.4 m) seems to have served a different purpose. Previously, I



Fig. 22. Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4) in Pompeii, peristyle with intentionally widened intercolumniation in front of *tablinum* 8 (photo Kees Peterse).



Fig. 23. Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, reconstruction of the façade that faced south, i.e. the public space of the encampment (reconstruction Kees Peterse, computer still Marla Smith, Austin TX).

explained why this room must have faced the courtyard. Here I should add that the south wall of the room was interrupted just before its junction with the west wall. This phenomenon indicates the presence of a doorway. The latter, most likely, had its counterpart in the opposite wall between room 40 and *oecus* 42 so that nobody needed to cross the eastern part of room 40.¹⁷⁵ From these characteristics, room 40 resembles a *triclinium*. Three couches forming a U-shape stood in the back (eastern part) of the room, while the front area would have served logistical purposes.¹⁷⁶ Here, both the people who were going to dine and their servants entered the room.¹⁷⁷ From their couches, the high-ranking guests and inhabitants could have looked out onto the peristyle.

The arrangement of a side-by-side *oecus* and a *triclinium* as seen in rooms 42 and 40 is found also in Campanian villas and townhouses.¹⁷⁸ The Villa of Oplontis (60-50 BC)¹⁷⁹ shows this arrangement in rooms 14 and 15 (fig. 16). The former was a *triclinium* with the logistic antechamber facing a colonnade. Larger room 15 is addressed as *oecus*.¹⁸⁰

The same feature is present in the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (60 BC).¹⁸¹ In this example, rooms M, N and O together composed this special suite.¹⁸² Starting with its initial appearance in the *praetorium* this arrangement was used continuously in the northern region for a period of at least two hundred years.¹⁸³

Finally, the northern rooms in the east wing need further explanation. In room 45 we find an important clue to the function of these rooms. Its limited width of 0.8 m and its existence as a subdivision of room 44 make it likely that we are dealing with the east wing's toilet. Since water-related functions were normally clustered, the east wing's kitchen and its bath-suite, if there was any, can be found in this northern area.¹⁸⁴ If we decide to identify room 43 (3.0x6.0 m) as the kitchen, than room 47 (3.7x6.2 m) may have served as storage. From the remaining rooms, 48 (3.0x3.6 m) is hypothetically identified as a secondary entrance that would have been used by servants. From a logistical point of view this is a plausible location for such an entrance. The east wing is clearly shorter than the western part of the complex leaving a gap between the *praetorium* and the edge of the terrace on the north. This gap may have been created to provide access to the private peristyle zone for people on horseback or perhaps in carriages.¹⁸⁵ A secondary entrance located off of this colonnaded area in the east wing's north façade would allow servants executing their daily duties, like bringing in new supplies, to avoid the private space of the peristyle zone. Finally, room 49 (2.4x3.6 m) could hypothetically have accommodated low-rank staff like kitchen personnel, while room 46 (3.0x3.0 m) could have housed staff of higher rank. Though I prefer the explanation just suggested, it cannot be excluded that rooms 43 and 47 served residential purposes and that the service area was restricted to rooms 44-46 and 48-49.¹⁸⁶

This leaves us with the middle part of the complex. In this area rooms 32-34 were previously identified as servants' quarters. The rooms to the north have already been interpreted as domestic quarters. In the layout of this northern tract, we find a replica of the special suite already identified in the complex's east wing. In its spatial characteristics room 27 was the counterpart of room 42. The second unit of the special suite, *triclinium* 31 (3.9x7.1 m), was not built immediately next to *oecus* 27 but on the opposite side of modest central hall 28 (5.2x5.4 m) thereby also providing access to *cubiculum* 29 (4.0x4.8 m) and *cubiculum* 30 (3.0x3.9 m). Through the backdoor located at the end of corridor 28 the formal quarters south

of reception hall 24 could be reached directly.

The above analysis has shown that the complex had two domestic quarters (27-31 and 36-49). We now face the challenge of figuring out which of them was intended for the permanent commander of the encampment and which served high-rank guests.¹⁸⁷ I have already argued that the accommodations on either side of the peristyle were not intended for use by only one party, since all the facilities present in the western quarters are also found in the eastern quarters. The latter had a bit more to offer, like a toilet/kitchen area and additional *cubicula*. Furthermore, it had an entrance of its own (fig. 23). Given the fact that the eastern quarters offered its inhabitant the opportunity to operate completely independently, it seems plausible that this part of the *praetorium* accommodated the high-rank guest. He was offered a domestic suite of Mediterranean flavor and *cubicula* that may have been intended for his clerks and other staff. Furthermore, the guest would have had all necessary facilities at his disposal. The permanent commander would have had a domestic suite of the same quality. The fact that the western suite featured less *cubicula* now makes sense, since the staff of the commander fulfilled their duties in the offices that were created around the atrium. The commander would have used the sanitary facilities (toilet/bath-suite) that were located on the west side of the atrium and his meals would have been prepared in the kitchen that was also used for banquets in room 24. Such a division of functions implies that in the periods when there was no guest the independent eastern wing of the *praetorium* was temporarily abandoned. All activities were concentrated in the core buildings of the complex.

The detailed analysis of the residential area has revealed that this part of the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau also was firmly rooted in Mediterranean domestic architecture. The overall size of the *praetorium* and the dimensions of especially the major reception hall (24) and the principal living rooms (27 and 42) indicate that the building was intended for someone of highest rank. The spacious and luxurious arrangement of the residential area as a whole should be understood as an attempt to create an impressive and grand domestic environment. The special status of the *praetorium* is substantiated by both its orientation that did not align with the encampment's grid system and its location at the edge of the ice-pushed ridge rather than at the center of the encampment.¹⁸⁸ As a consequence both the major reception hall (24) and the peristyle offered a view onto

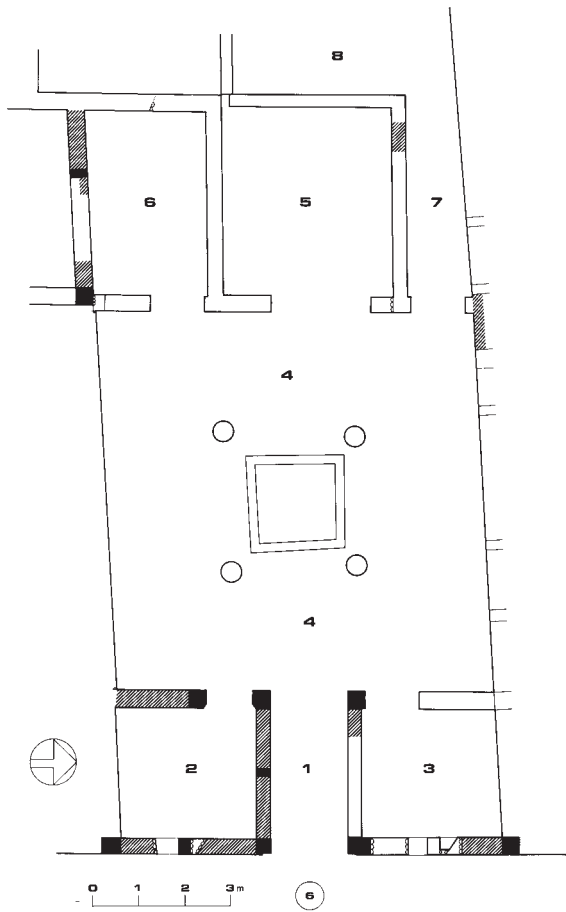


Fig. 24. House VI 15, 6 in Pompeii, plan (drawing Kees Peterse).

enemy territory in the distance. If the commander of the encampment or his guest had not been involved in the overall strategy of the military campaigns there would have been little reason for choosing this exceptional scenery.

TIMEFRAME OF THE ARCHITECTURAL REFERENCES

Next, I will address the question of when the elements quoted in the *praetorium* first occurred in Mediterranean domestic architecture. The oldest Pompeian examples of a tetrastyle atrium go back to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC. The best known examples are the tetrastyle atria of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i), the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 10)¹⁸⁹ and the Casa di M. Obellio Firmo (IX 14, 4).¹⁹⁰ These atria all have huge columns carefully carved from so-called Nocera tuff. Not only the height¹⁹¹ of the columns but also the dimensions of the atria were

large in comparison with those that were built in later times.¹⁹² The latter generally did not feature columns in the initial plan as is indicated by obviously older perimeter walls.¹⁹³ The columns were introduced either to embellish the atrium (I 6, 15) or to support an additional built-in storey.¹⁹⁴ As a predictable consequence, these columns were often shorter than their predecessors and in most cases, instead of tuff, they were built out of brick.¹⁹⁵ A good example is House VI 15, 6 that originates from the limestone framework period (fig. 24).¹⁹⁶ At a later date its modest Tuscan atrium (8.2x8.4 m) was embellished with four brick columns.¹⁹⁷ Since an atrium that featured columns, preferably made from expensive stone, was considered a sign of high status, the inclusion of columns for non-structural reasons was clearly an attempt to upgrade houses like VI 15, 6.¹⁹⁸ This process of upgrading could only be achieved in the atrium zone, because such modest houses lacked a peristyle of any significance.

Rather than the spacious examples from the Hellenistic period, the atrium of the *praetorium* (8.6-9.0x8.5 m) on the Kops Plateau seems to reflect the modest Pompeian atria with their relatively short brick columns. Given their reconstructed diameter of 20-30 cm, it seems implausible that the columns of the *praetorium* reached a height of well over 3 m (fig. 25). It is difficult to determine when the modest tetrastyle atria were created. In the Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15) the inclusion of the columns either anticipated the Third Style remodeling or was part of it.¹⁹⁹ In most other cases, the fact that brick columns were applied or columns made in *opus vittatum mixtum* clearly indicates a relatively late date of construction. Nevertheless, in general it remains very difficult to determine with some degree of precision when the remodeling took place.²⁰⁰

Reception room 24 of the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau has already been interpreted as a reference to a room like *oecus* 21 of the Villa of Oplontis. This *oecus* is assigned to the early Third Style remodeling of the villa.²⁰¹

The best chance to pin down the chronological origins of the quotations is offered by *oeci* 27 and 42. It is beyond doubt that their Mediterranean counterparts originate from the period of the Second Style.²⁰² Based on stylistic grounds the tetrastyle *oecus* of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento must have been built in 50-40 BC.²⁰³ More concrete data place the date of construction of the House of Augustus and its tetrastyle *oecus* between 36 and 28 BC.²⁰⁴ These examples constitute the typological roots of rooms 27 and 42.

Close observation, however, reveals that the



Fig. 25. *Praetorium on the Kops Plateau, section of the formal-representative area, seen from west, from right to left: fauces, tetrastyle atrium, tablinum, kitchen and portico (reconstruction Kees Peterse, computer still Marla Smith, Austin TX).*

praetorium of Nijmegen was already affected by the next stage in the development of domestic architecture. As has been explained above, the columns in front of *oecus* 42 were shifted to the sides. This offered those present in the room an uninterrupted framed view into the pleasure garden in the center of the peristyle. This stage of development - the shift of columns to the sides in front of a major living room - is documented in neither the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento nor the House of Augustus. The former displays a peristyle with regular intercolumniations. In the House of Augustus on the Palatine a portico was built in front of *oecus* 13. This portico did not reflect the location of the *oecus* as is shown on the plan of Carettoni (fig. 21).²⁰⁵ These observations seem to indicate that somewhere between 36-28 BC (the date of construction and decoration of the House of Augustus) and 10 BC (the approximate date of construction of the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau) the phenomenon of the 'framed view' developed. Moreover, these observations show that in this short period of time this phenomenon not only developed but found its way into domestic architecture within a military context in the northern region. The pertinent question is when this first happened.

There are no villas decorated with Second Style wall paintings that exhibit an intentionally irregular arrangement of the peristyle columns. This is true for the Villa dei Misteri (80-70 BC), the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor (60 BC), the Villa dei Papiri (50-40 BC) and the Villa of Settefinestre (40-30 BC). Nor is the phenomenon documented in the urban context of the Casa del Criptoportico (I 6, 2),²⁰⁶ the Casa degli Epigrammi (V 1, 18)²⁰⁷ and the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i), all known because of their Second Style wall paintings.

There are however exceptions. The first is the Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4). The peristyle of this

house displays a strikingly irregular arrangement of tuff and brick columns. There is an increased intercolumniation in front of *tablinum* 8, room 15, large *oecus* 18 and *exedra* 23. According to Ling, most of the peristyle arrangement as well as the increased intercolumniation in front of rooms 15 and 23 date from the period of the late Second Style (40-25 BC).²⁰⁸ This is indicated by fragments of wall paintings and floor decorations.²⁰⁹ The widened intercolumniation in front of *oecus* 18 was most likely from a later date. Only the increased interaxial distance in front of the *tablinum* anticipated late Second Style construction (fig. 22).²¹⁰ The related archaeological evidence, however, is difficult to explain. Ling found proof that the columns, especially those in front of *tablinum* 8, had been shifted and no longer reflect the initial arrangement. According to Ling the peristyle was originally only three-sided, featuring wings of unequal length on its west and east side. Such an initial arrangement that lacked a proper ending on the back side of the peristyle area seems implausible. Hence, regarding the first appearance of the intentionally increased intercolumniations, I prefer Ling's so convincingly demonstrated late Second Style remodeling.

The second exception is the somewhat oddly shaped peristyle of the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus (IX 14, 4).²¹¹ Three of its sides display a regular arrangement of tuff columns. On the remaining south side the portico consists of two brick columns that display irregular intercolumniations. The larger interaxial distance is found in front of an *oecus*. The smaller distance is measured between the adjacent columns on the west side. Since the columns on the south side of the peristyle were made of brick instead of tuff, the extension of the colonnade and the irregular interaxial distances clearly are the result of later remodeling. It seems

obvious that this was related to the construction or (re)decoration of the large *oecus*, which had its walls painted in the late Second Style. These wall paintings provide a *terminus ante quem* for the intentionally widened intercolumniation: the third decade before the beginning of the Common Era.²¹²

These observations indicate that the phenomenon of intentionally increased intercolumniations most likely first appeared in the period of the late Second Style. This is substantiated by further archaeological evidence. In the Villa of Oplontis one observes a widened intercolumniation in front of *oecus* 15 (fig. 16). The related colonnade (13) dates from the period of the early Third Style,²¹³ whereas *oecus* 15 is famous because of its mature Second Style wall paintings (60-50 BC).²¹⁴ In the peristyle of House VIII 2, 3 an increased intercolumniation was created in front of room v. According to Karl Lehmann-Hartleben the peristyle was built in the late Augustan period corresponding to Third Style wall paintings.²¹⁵ During the last years of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire, the southern tract of the peristyle of the Casa di Paquius Proculus (I 7, 1) featured an increased intercolumniation in front of *exedra* 10A.²¹⁶ On the corresponding south wall of peristyle 9, remains of Third Style wall paintings were identified that have been lost in recent times.²¹⁷ A final example is the Casa del Principe di Napoli (VI 15, 7.8) where the Augustan or early Tiberian portico in front of rooms k and i had an irregular arrangement of columns that created a view from room k to the shrine against the garden's back wall.²¹⁸

The *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau shows a variety of popular Mediterranean domestic features that were introduced in hometown architecture during the third quarter of the first century BC or slightly earlier. The tetrastyle atrium was probably based on examples originating just prior to the period of the Third Style. A somewhat different timeframe applies to major reception room 24 in the formal-representative area of the Nijmegen complex - its reference dates from the period of the early Third Style. In the residential area, *oeci* 27 and 42 reflect Mediterranean counterparts that date from the period of the mature and late Second Style. The integration of these rooms in the peristyle arrangement is based on a new architectural approach that first appeared in Mediterranean examples in the period of the late Second Style. Therefore, based upon its selection of spatial features the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau was up-to-date and highly fashionable. The complex was built in approximately 10 BC and, in the case of the intentionally widened intercolumnia-

tions, it quoted a feature that had first occurred in Mediterranean domestic architecture only about fifteen years earlier.

REFLECTION OF NEW AESTHETICS

Finally, one more aspect requires our attention. Our analysis has demonstrated the presence of numerous Mediterranean quotations in the complex on the Kops Plateau. Many of these architectural references, especially the *oeci* and the intentionally widened intercolumniation in front of these rooms, were fashionable architectural features of their day. Did the architect compose the *praetorium* by randomly drawing upon Mediterranean trends, or was there coherency in the way these elements were implemented and integrated? Moreover, if there was a coherent pattern in the selected architectural elements did it correspond to broader developments in Roman exterior and interior design?

Regarding such broader developments, John Clarke's exploration of what he calls 'the new aesthetics' of late Second Style wall painting provides important information.²¹⁹ In *De Architectura*, the stage of transition from the Second to the Third Style becomes apparent in the paragraph where Vitruvius laments the gradual loss of the wall painting's structural nature. The more realistically figured architectural elements of the mature Second Style rapidly began to disappear in favor of merely decorative motifs that had little basis in reality:

But these paintings, which had taken their models from real things, now fall foul of depraved taste. For monsters are now painted in frescoes rather than reliable images of definite things. Reeds are set up in place of columns, as pediments, little scrolls, striped with curly leaves and volutes; candelabra hold up the figures of aediculae (...). Now these things do not exist nor can they exist nor have they ever existed, and thus this new fashion has brought things to such a pass that bad judges have condemned the right practice of the arts as lack of skill (7.5.3-4).²²⁰

According to Clarke, the Casa di Livia on the Palatine is one of the examples that shows the very changes Vitruvius detested. Its central *oecus* exemplified 'the most fundamental and long-lasting change in wall decoration: the abandonment of asymmetrical perspective'.²²¹ Clarke explains that instead of regularly spaced columns a single feature became the focus of the wall: the *aedicula*, a pavilionlike structure with columns supporting a



Fig. 26. Casa degli Amorini dorati (VI 16, 7) in Pompeii, apart from the increased interaxial distance, the viewer's attention was drawn to triclinium O by means of a front-gabled aedicula that was supported by a pair of pilasters (photo Kees Peterse).

pediment.²²² According to Clarke 'this late Second Style approach shifted the viewer's attention from the perspective system designed for the whole room to a single axial focus for each wall'.²²³ The eye was drawn 'to the aedicula and to its center of interest: the painting that the aedicula framed'.²²⁴

This development in wall painting was accompanied by a similar change in architecture. The latter included the application of intentionally widened intercolumniations. Prior to this change, the columns of peristyles were placed at regular distances and as an entity the columns did not reflect the arrangement of the surrounding rooms, nor their hierarchy. In fact in most cases it was exactly the opposite: the arrangement of the columns was reflected by stucco pilasters on the peristyle's perimeter walls. From an abundance of evidence, I shall point to just a few examples such as the First Style peristyles of the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2) and the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8.10).²²⁵ In addition, the slightly older peristyle of the Casa di Pansa (VI 6, 1) should be mentioned because, like a blueprint for this phenomenon, its columnar arrangement perfectly demonstrates its independence from the surrounding rooms.²²⁶ A

peristyle that resembled the one of the Casa di Pansa was constructed in the center of the Casa di Arianna/Capitelli colorati (VII 4, 51).²²⁷ Roughly the same scheme was applied in the Corinthian atrium of the Casa di Epidius Rufus (IX I, 20).²²⁸

During the late Republic the peristyle increasingly became the center of the living area. The arrangement of the peristyle and its furnishings provided a setting that was intended to be reminiscent of life in a villa.²²⁹ To allow for an uninterrupted framed view from the living area into the cultivated garden area of the peristyle, columns in front of major living rooms were shifted to the sides. However, this phenomenon of intentionally widened intercolumniations was also part of a series of architectural features that signified spatial hierarchy. The archaeological evidence indicates that widened intercolumniation generally went hand in hand with increased height, or the addition of a pediment, or both.²³⁰ If the sole reason for applying widened intercolumniations had been to create an uninterrupted framed view, this additional architectural emphasis that was primarily visible from the outside would not have been necessary. Apparently, shifting aside the columns in front of a major living room formed part of a more complex two-way effect. It seems plausible that the underlying reason for the exterior architectural emphasis was the desire to reflect spatial hierarchy in an increasingly complex domestic ensemble in which the peristyle had become the unquestioned center.²³¹

In the First Style dwellings of Pompeii there had been no need for artificially emphasizing spatial hierarchy in the peristyle area. The arrangement was rigid and clear with principal rooms located on the architectural axes, like the major *oecus* at the back of the peristyle in the Casa di Pansa (VI 6, 1), or *exedra* 37 opposite *tablinum* 33 in the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2).²³² From the moment this system of rigid geometrical arrangements of Hellenistic origin was abandoned, the hierarchy of rooms was no longer obvious at first sight. To compensate for this gradual loss of univocality in domestic arrangements exterior architectural emphasis was introduced. Framing the most prestigious room was a way of communicating the proprietor's luxurious lifestyle in the considerably less formalized setting of a villa-like ensemble.

The Casa degli Amorini dorati (VI 16, 7) provides a good example. In front of major living room *triclinium* O, the principal wing of the Rhodian peristyle displays obvious architectural emphasis that was created during the late Republic and rebuilt after the earthquake of AD 62 (fig. 26).²³³

Apart from the increased interaxial distance, the viewer's attention was drawn to *triclinium* O by means of a front-gabled *aedicula* that was supported by a pair of pilasters. As a tool used to focus attention on the center of interest, the *aedicula* in front of *triclinium* O was a perfect counterpart to the *aediculae* in late Second Style wall painting. In this respect, it is significant that the rise of intentionally widened intercolumniations can independently be linked to the period of late Second Style.

If we disregard the more general references to the atrium/peristyle house and the villa, there are no quotations in the Augustan *praetorium* of Nijmegen that served primarily structural purposes. This is true for the tetrastyle atrium,²³⁴ the *oeci* and the widened intercolumniations. These features were standard elements of contemporary interior design and represent the taste of the late Republican and early Augustan elite. Since they embellished the residences of particularly the well-to-do, their appearance in the *praetorium* on the Kops Plateau must be understood as an attempt to link this complex to hometown luxury life. This not only adds to the status of the complex, it also explains the coherent integration and organization of the quotations.

NOTES

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- ¹ Haalebos 1991, 102; Van Enckevort 1995, 48.
- ² Van Enckevort/Zee 1999, 32-35; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 27-33.
- ³ Von Schnurbein 1974, 59-60 indicates that in the Haltern *praetorium*, Dragendorff recognized the standard layout of a Roman house.
- ⁴ Kühlborn 1991, 136: 'Die Grundrißkonzeption dieser drei Gebäude (the *praetoria* of Anreppen, Oberaden and Haltern) aus den augusteischen Lagern an der Lippe weist in unterschiedlichem Maße unübersehbare Anklänge an römische Villentypen auf.'
- ⁵ Pietsch 1993, 361-362: 'Während die kaiserzeitlichen *Praetoria* einen wenig einheitlichen Grundriß zeigen, zeichnet sich nach den Grabungen der letzten Jahre in augusteischen Lagern für das Gebäude hinter den Principia die kennzeichnende Grundform des klassischen Atriumhauses ab.'
- ⁶ Concerning the military significance of the river Lippe as an invasion route to northern Germania during the Augustan campaigns (Elbe-Danube line) see: Van Es 1981, 28-36.
- ⁷ Förtsch 1995, 617-634.
- ⁸ Van Enckevort 1995, 47-48; Förtsch 1995, 629, whose identification of space 24 as a *triclinium* may be too restricted (see below). For the vocabulary of the Roman house see: Wistrand 1970, 191-223; Stegeman 1992, *passim*; Leach 1997, 50-72; Dickmann 1999a, 23-40.
- ⁹ For information on both: www.pansa.nl and www.museumhetvalkhof.nl
- ¹⁰ For example: Tamm 1973, 55. Förtsch 1995, 621: 'Dort (Pompeii) wird gerade von Seiten der Klassischen Archäologie häufig die gesamte Beweislast zur römischen Wohnkultur abgeladen. Das Ergebnis solch banalisierter Anschaulichkeit ist, daß sich auch außerhalb der Klassischen Archäologie die Diskussion immer wieder auf pompejanische Beispiele verengt, obwohl diese Stadt in vieler Hinsicht eine Randexistenz führte.' Cf. Leach 1997, 50; De Kind 1998, 185-188.
- ¹¹ Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem* is generally believed to have been written between 35 and 25 BC. On this matter: Knell 1985, 2 (esp. note 18); Fleury 1990; Peters 1997, 14.
- ¹² Nissen 1877, 88-89, 625-645; Mau 1908, 255-266; Tamm 1973, 53-60; Weiskittel 1979, 25-34; Geertman 1984, 53-62; Peterse 1985, 51-55; Knell 1985, 145-165; Peterse 1993, 75-102.
- ¹³ Haalebos 1991, 97-107; Van Enckevort 1997, 555-564; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 23-26; Van Enckevort/Thijssen 2001, 87-110.
- ¹⁴ In the Netherlands the river Rhine branches off into the southern river Waal and the northern Nederrijn (Lower Rhine). Nijmegen is located on the south bank of the river Waal.
- ¹⁵ Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 23 consider the Hunerberg fortress as a hub for troops that were

- going to be brought into action in the area east of the Rhine River.
- 16 Van Enckevort 1995, 42-49; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 23-37.
 - 17 Van Enckevort 1997, 559.
 - 18 Van Enckevort 1995, 42-49; Van Enckevort/Zee 1999, 32-35; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 27.
 - 19 The post-holes found at the northeastern edge of the Kops Plateau formed part of a retaining wall. There was no visual barrier between the *praetorium* and the river valley. This observation is the result of a workshop focused on the layout of the encampment on the Kops Plateau. Participants were Harry van Enckevort, Katja Zee (both from the Archaeological Service of the City of Nijmegen) and the author.
 - 20 Von Schnurbein 1974, 59-61; Kühlborn 1991, 129-140; 1995 I, 203-209. On the measurements: Kühlborn 1991, 137. The *praetorium* of Anreppen was the largest measuring approximately 3375 m².
 - 21 Haalebos 1991, 102-107; Van Enckevort 1995, 47-49; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 36.
 - 22 Van Enckevort/Zee 1999, 32-35; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 27-29.
 - 23 Van Es 1981, 28-36; Cassius Dio 54,32 on the military actions through the *insula Batavorum*. Also: Haalebos 1991, 102-107. Kühlborn 1991, 140 can neither confirm nor deny that the location of the Oberaden *praetorium* in the center of the encampment was related to the possible presence of the supreme commander Drusus. His presence in both Nijmegen and Oberaden is plausible, since we may presume that the supreme commander stayed at the various encampments only periodically.
 - 24 Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 28.
 - 25 Van Enckevort/Zee 1999, 37 and 55.
 - 26 This was standard procedure as indicated by Johnson 1983, 99.
 - 27 Weber 2001, 191 on wooden framework constructions at Auerberg; Zielsing 2001, 27-36 on pre-colonial Xanten (*Colonia Ulpia Traiana*) and referring to studies of Von Petrikovits 1952, 41-161, Binding 1972, 1-23 and Precht 2001, 37-56.
 - 28 Example shown by: Weber 2001, 196 fig. 7.
 - 29 Documented in Valkenburg (Z.H.): Van Giffen 1948, plate 43. A construction of a different type featuring a soleplate was also preserved in the fortress of Valkenburg: Van Giffen 1948, plate 38. Also: Weber 2001, 196 fig. 7.
 - 30 Glasbergen 1972, 38 and esp. fig. 6 and 15, on such thresholds found in the *praetorium* of Valkenburg (AD 40 circa); Johnson 1983, 99 referring to the wooden thresholds found in Valkenburg.
 - 31 Van Enckevort 1995, 48.
 - 32 I thank Harry van Enckevort, who was one of the excavators in charge, for this information.
 - 33 A cellar like this covered with a wooden hatch was found in the fortress of Haltern. Further: Kühlborn 1992, 40 fig. 21.
 - 34 Johnson 1983, 132 recognizes guest rooms for visiting officials as a common feature in northern *praetoria*.
 - 35 Dickmann 1999a, 215-219 explores this phenomenon in Pompeian domestic architecture.
 - 36 Van Aken 1943, 6 and 13; Pavolini, 1996, 71; Gros 2001, 112-114.
 - 37 Ramieri 1990; Steinby 1993, 292-294 (*cohors vigilum* founded by Augustus AD 6); also Carcopino 2001, 42-43; Tac. *Ann.* 15.43 mentions that after the fire of AD 64 'a fixed proportion of every building had to be massive, untimbered stone from Gabii or Alba (these stones being fireproof)' (translation Michael Grant 1996).
 - 38 Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
 - 39 In the area which is presently the Netherlands, Roman application of brick was restricted to mainly roof tiles, hypocaust systems and ovens.
 - 40 Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 26 indicates that Roman occupying forces initially were completely dependent upon provisions from Gaul and Italy.
 - 41 Attention had already shifted from expansion to occupation and border control (*castra stativa*). The *Legio X Gemina* that had arrived at the Hunerberg fortress shortly after AD 70 helped improve the infrastructure by building roads and developing urban areas. Haalebos 1993, 7-37; Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 45-46.
 - 42 Petrikovits 1952, 41-161; Binding 1972, 1-23; Von Schnurbein 1974, 59-61; Bloemers 1985, 131-142; Kühlborn 1991, 129-140; 1992, 40-41; Pietsch 1993, 361-362; Kühlborn 1995 I, 203-209; Weber 2001, 191; Zielsing 2001, 27-36; Precht 2001, 37-56.
 - 43 As preserved in Corbridge, Valkenburg Z.H. and Avenches: Richmond 1961, 15-26 esp. 22-23; Baatz 1973, 39; Tour 1983, 55; Johnson 1987, 118.
 - 44 On floors: Kühlborn 1992, 40-41 and note 169. On wood shingles: Jacobi 1897, 233-234 and volume II, plate XIV, fig. XI; Jacobi 1934, 24 and plate III, fig. 3; Kühlborn 1995 I, 203 and plate on p. 206.
 - 45 Chantraine 1984, 77-80; Horn 1987, 580-586.
 - 46 Haalebos 1991, 99 and fig. 2-3.
 - 47 Haalebos 1991, 99.
 - 48 Glasbergen 1972, 148-149, according to whom *castellum* 1 of Valkenburg (Z.-H.) was built around AD 40.
 - 49 According to Von Schnurbein 2000, 30 the Oberaden *praetorium* was built during the campaigns of 15 BC to 9/8 BC, while the *praetoria* of Anreppen, Haltern and Markbreit were constructed during subsequent campaigns until AD 9.
 - 50 Kühlborn 1991, 134-136 and notes 17 and 24; Cf. Von Schnurbein 2000, 34-35.
 - 51 Kühlborn 1991, 132.
 - 52 Von Schnurbein 2000, 35 points out the possibility that in the Augustan period 'the *principia* and *praetorium* had not yet been completely separated functionally and that, in the tradition of Republican marching camps, certain administrative tasks were still carried out in the *praetoria*.'
 - 53 Kühlborn 1991, 132.
 - 54 Kühlborn 1991, 132.
 - 55 As previously Förtsch 1995, 624.
 - 56 Förtsch 1995, 624-626. On 'Dreiraumgruppen' in the cities of Vesuvius: Dickmann 1999a, 322.
 - 57 Förtsch 1995, 624-626. Cf. Von Schnurbein 2002, 15-18.
 - 58 Förtsch 1995, 626. On the Domus Aurea: Ball 2003.
 - 59 Also the room at the far eastern side of the peristyle's southern wing seems to indicate that the suite mentioned here turned its back to the peristyle because it featured a niche-like space at its north side. An arrangement quite similar to the domestic suite in Anreppen is shown by the Julio-Claudian east wing of the Villa of Oplontis; De Vos 1982, 251; Dickmann 1999a, 184-186 and 322-332; Ball 2003, 110-111.
 - 60 Von Schnurbein 1974, 61.
 - 61 Size of the (colonnaded) courtyard: Nijmegen 532 m², Haltern 235 m², Oberaden 485 m², Anreppen 668 m².
 - 62 Measurements were taken from our reconstructed plan scale 1:100.
 - 63 Kühlborn 1991, 132.
 - 64 Cf. Förtsch 1995, 621; Cf. Leach 1997, 50.
 - 65 Cf. Nissen 1877, 88; Tamm 1973, 55; Raeder 1988, 316-368; De Kind 1998, 185-188.

- ⁶⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 16: 'Preliminary examination indicates that precisely the sort of atrium houses with shops in their frontages that are so familiar from Pompeii were also characteristic of the metropolitan elite.'
- ⁶⁷ Ross Holloway 1994, 63 mentions the introduction of the atrium house in archaic Rome and the fact that the atrium plan remained dominant for townhouses throughout the Republic; Carafa 1995, 268-275 on the rise of the atrium house within the Etruscan-Italic culture. To this point, the oldest datable atrium house in Pompeii is from the 4th century BC - the Casa degli Scenziati. For the stratigraphical evidence from the excavations carried out by the University of Nijmegen see: Peterse/Schipper/De Haan/De Waele 2000, 293-296 and De Haan/Peterse/Piras/Schipper (in print). Maiuri's early date of the Casa del Chirurgo is disputed: Maiuri 1973, 12; Evans 1980, 9; Richardson Jr. 1988, 376 note 11; De Albentis 1990, 81; Nappo 1997, 97; Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 223-228; Bon/Jones/Kurchin/Robinson 1997, 32-49. Evidence of older atrium complexes is found exclusively outside the Pompeian region: Donati 1994 on the 6th century BC Etruscan house with *impluvium* at Roselle (cf. Nielsen 1997, 323-326); Carandini/Carafa 1995 [2000] and Carandini 1995 [2000] on archaic domestic architecture at the foot of the Palatine; on the same: Ross Holloway 1994, 63-67; Van 't Lindenhout 1995, 4-13; Moormann 2001, 209-212. Carafa 1995, 269 and fig. 251 on the 6th century BC atrium house of Montalto di Castro generally recognized as *Regae*, the harbor of Vulci. Also Carafa 1995, 270 and fig. 252 on the mid-5th century BC atrium houses of Marzabotto; Gros 2001, 30-38.
- ⁶⁸ Uniformity is shown also by the oldest preserved wall decorations: Laidlaw 1975, 39-52, who emphasizes that 'all the elements of First Style design in the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii can be paralleled, admittedly in a Latin colony [Cosa] ninety miles north of Rome.' Also: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 15-16. On the First Style in general: Laidlaw 1985.
- ⁶⁹ Coarelli 1994, 702-704 on the excavations at Fregellae where highly standardized atrium houses (see his fig. 806) from the 2nd century BC were found along with older, 4th and 3rd century BC remains of domestic architecture; De Albentis 1990, 138-139: 'le abitazioni finora rinvenute in questa città laziale appartengono alla categoria delle case ad atrio impemiate sullo schema con tablino e doppie ali simmetriche, elemento che attesta con ogni probabilità il ruolo giocato dalle colonie come centri di diffusione dei modelli culturali romani.'
- ⁷⁰ Calza 1953, 103 and De Albentis 1990, 132-133 and fig. 22 on the *casette repubblicane* (I,ix,1) in Ostia built during the second half of the 2nd century BC; Calza 1953, 107 on a large domus beneath the Casggiato IV,v,7 built in Ostia during the first half of the 1st century BC.
- ⁷¹ Brown-Hill Richardson-Richardson 1993 on Cosa's *atria publica* built between 197 and 180 BC; Bruno/Scott 1993, 31-43 on the Southwest House (rebuilt as the House of the Birds using the old foundations and part of the standing walls). Bruno/Scott 1993, 99-152 on the Casa dello Scheletro.
- ⁷² For Vulci see De Albentis 1990, 136-138 and fig. 24.
- ⁷³ De Albentis 1990, plan on 127. On Rome's archaic atrium houses: Ross Holloway 1994, 63-67; Van 't Lindenhout 1995, 4-13. Cf. note 67.
- ⁷⁴ Cic. *Off.* 1.138-139; De Albentis 1990, 184-189; Steinby 1995; Gros 2001, 74-75.
- ⁷⁵ Gros 2001, 74-75 and fig. 64-65; De Albentis 1990, 184-189.
- ⁷⁶ Ziçans 1941, 183-194; Carettoni 1960, *passim*; Rodriguez Almeida 1980, *passim*; Liedtke 1999, 685-705, especially 692 and 699; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 16; Gros 2001, 118-121.
- ⁷⁷ Carettoni 1960, Tav. LIII, fragment 543 = Rodriguez Almeida 1980, fragment 11 e-i. For the topographical context: Coarelli 2001, 304.
- ⁷⁸ Cf. Ziçans 1941, 183-194.
- ⁷⁹ This information derives from the author's current research on Republican *domus* on the *Forma Urbis Romae*. Also: Ziçans 1941, 183-194 and Bruno/Scott 1993, 30 note 24, who refers to fragments 95, 98, 132, 415, 470, 484, 543 and pl. 53 of the *Forma Urbis Romae*.
- ⁸⁰ In a number of cases the depth of the atrium was standardized at 4.70 m circa representing 17 Oscan feet of 27.6 cm. This measurement corresponds to approximately 16 Roman feet. Peterse 1999, 127-148.
- ⁸¹ Peterse 1999, 128-129 and Beilage 1.
- ⁸² Peterse 1999, 148.
- ⁸³ Sodo 1988, 195-202. Nappo 1997, 91-120 published Pompeian row houses of a later date that basically had the same arrangement. On these row houses: Hoffmann 1980, 1-14; 1984, 105-118; Nappo 1988, 186-192; Miele 1989, 165-184; Dickmann 1999b, 629-632.
- ⁸⁴ Examples in Herculaneum: De Kind 1998, 292-294: Casa della Fullonica (IV 5-7), depth of atrium 467.5 cm; De Kind 1998, 270-271: Casa dell'Ara Laterizia (III 17), depth of atrium 464.0-467.0 cm. According to Ganschow 1989, 321-323, 329 during the Samnite period of Herculaneum three types of houses were built. The narrow type had no rooms along the sides of the atrium and instead of a *tablinum* a narrow corridor ran along the central axis of the house, flanked by two rooms (from: De Kind 1989, 189).
- ⁸⁵ Bruno/Scott 1993, 13-30: West Block, esp. Plots 2-3. Miele 1989, 179-181, has noticed the relationship between the Pompeian row houses and the dwellings in the West Block at Cosa.
- ⁸⁶ House V,2,10: Mannucci 1995, map 39.
- ⁸⁷ On the standardization of the 'alternative' house during the 4th and 3rd century BC: Peterse 1999, 127-134.
- ⁸⁸ Cf. Boëthius 1978, 185: 'It is evident that Vitruvius, as he often does, has chosen the best-liked traditional type of house from the last centuries BC for his model.' Cf. Knell 1985, 158 and his fig. 62 (Casa del Chirurgo in Pompeii).
- ⁸⁹ According to Knell 1985, 145-165, Vitruvius presented a design model that could be executed in many variations. I do not support Knell's attempt to distil an overall design from Vitruvius' individual recommendations.
- ⁹⁰ As previously: Peterse 1993, 100-101.
- ⁹¹ Förtsch 1995, *passim*.
- ⁹² Zanker 1995, 26-27; Zanker 1995, 144: 'Nicht nur um die verschiedenartigen Landschaften und Klimata (Plut. Luc. 39) zu genießen, auch um überall dabeizusein, mußte man mehrere Villen besitzen'. Cf. Drerup 1959, 133 who considers the Villa dei Misteri the oldest example of the *villa urbana*; Richardson Jr. 1988, 171; Zanker 1995, 142-147, especially his note 4 where we find Cato's reference to a luxury villa built (shortly) before 152 BC. Dickmann 1999a, 186; Gros 2001, 289-313.
- ⁹³ Drerup 1959, 117; d'Arms 1970, *passim*; Gros 2001, 289-302.
- ⁹⁴ Zanker 1995, 143.
- ⁹⁵ De Kind 1998, 21.
- ⁹⁶ De Caro 1981, 111-115; Gros 2001, 357-360.
- ⁹⁷ De Franciscis 1975, 9-38; Strocka 1991, 107-115; Dickmann 1999a, 184-186, 330-331; Gros 2001, 301-302.
- ⁹⁸ As previously: Ward-Perkins 1981, 193-210; Zanker

- 1995, 142; Gros 2001, 291.
- ⁹⁹ Lafon 2001.
- ¹⁰⁰ Carandini 1985; Strocka 1991, 91; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 52-54 and fig. 3.20; Dickmann 1999a, 176-181; Gros 2001, 279-283.
- ¹⁰¹ De Vos 1982, 322-326; Barbet-Miniero 1999, *passim*; Gros 2001, 296.
- ¹⁰² Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ¹⁰³ Maiuri 1931, 37-40, 99-101 considers the villa to be built in the Samnite period; Carrington 1933, 130 seems to follow Maiuri when he erroneously suggests the 3rd century BC as the period of construction. Referring to Maiuri and Carrington Van Aken 1943, 89 also suggests the mid-3rd century BC as the period of construction; Richardson Jr. 1988, 171-176 suggests the mid-1st century BC; De Albentiis 1990, 199; Clarke 1991, 94-95 mentions 60 BC; Dickmann 1999a, 170 and note 55, who proposes that the structural elements originate in the 2nd century BC; Gros 2001, 291, who suggests the first half of the 2nd century BC as the date of construction. A date in the 3rd century BC is highly implausible if not incorrect. If this were the case the walls would have been built in limestone framework, which they were not (Peters 1999). Nor does the villa convincingly display masonry comparable to the 2nd century BC's structures that are documented in town (lava-*incertum* with Sarno limestone ashlar for door jambs and the reinforcement of corners). The walls indicate a date of construction no earlier than late-2nd century BC. Hence, the time span between the construction of the villa and the application of the Second Style wall paintings (80-70 BC Strocka 1991, 111) would have been relatively short.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. Drerup 1959, 120 according to whom Maiuri was incorrect in identifying the spacious vestibule as the villa's entrance; Moormann 1984, 671 on the Second Style wall paintings found in the atrium. These belonged to the villa in its first layout. Also: Zanker 1995, 142; De Kind 1998, 21-22.
- ¹⁰⁵ De Vos 1982, 315; De Simone 1988 II, 231-233; Gros 2001, 299.
- ¹⁰⁶ Peters 1990, 250-251; 1993, 213-227 includes bibliographical references on the matter. Note that there is a certain resemblance between the *paesaggio* left on the north wall of *tablinum* h in the Pompeian Casa di M.L. Fronto (Peters 1993, 219, fig. 196) and the reconstruction of the Villa of Oplontis after Alfonso De Franciscis and Andrea Carandini as shown in Gros 2001, 301 fig. 325.
- ¹⁰⁷ Peters 1993, 223: 'Il pittore deve essersi ispirato a palazzi e ville sontuose che proprio alla fine del I secolo a.C. cominciavano a svilupparsi su larga scala nell'ambiente romano, ma non ha imitato fotograficamente la realtà'; Zanker 1995, 142-143; Lafon 2001; Gros 2001, 302-313.
- ¹⁰⁸ Von Schnurbein 1974, 59-60; Kühlborn 1991, 136; Pietsch 1993, 361-362; Förtsch 1995, 620; Von Schnurbein 2002, 34-35.
- ¹⁰⁹ Förtsch 1995, 621-622 points out that the plan of Anreppen is dominated by square and oblong patterns, which had no parallels in Augustan private dwellings. Only Hellenistic royal residences like the Basileia of Pella exhibit a similar arrangement. According to Förtsch the link between the Hellenistic luxury architecture and the Augustan praetoria could have been made through the domestic architecture in Rome. Also: Dickmann 1999b, 811-813.
- ¹¹⁰ From a typological point of view it would be wrong to interpret room 9 as a small peristyle. In the case of a small peristyle, the width of the colonnade would measure approximately a quarter of the room's overall dimensions and its open inner space would accommodate a small garden or a fountain. In case of a tetrastyle atrium the colonnade measures approximately a third of the overall dimensions and the space in the center accommodates an *impluvium*.
- ¹¹¹ Examples of villas with atrium and *alae* (in a formal sense): Villa dei Papiri, Villa of Oplontis (reconstructed by Carandini), Villa di Arianna (Stabia) and Villa of Settefinestre. For an example of a villa with an atrium but without *alae*: Villa dei Misteri.
- ¹¹² Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 25 mentions the presence of a latrine in the Augustan officer's houses on the Hunerberg. On toilets in Roman houses: Jansen 2002.
- ¹¹³ Traces of a structure built on the outside immediately west of room 12a could have belonged to a *praefurnium*. This would have been built outside of the wooden structure to reduce the risk of fire. Since no traces of a *hypocaust* system were found the *praefurnium* would have been used only to heat up the boiler for hot water supply. In Oberaden one of the rooms at the back of the peristyle was heated. According to Kühlborn 1991, 132 the oven in Oberaden was built immediately outside the core building. For Roman water heaters: Günther/Manderscheid 1994; De Haan 2001, 41-49.
- ¹¹⁴ Jansen 1997, 128 on clustering water related functions.
- ¹¹⁵ It can not be excluded that room 10 served as an *apodyterium*.
- ¹¹⁶ De Vos 1982, 251 and 253 (rooms 47 and 48).
- ¹¹⁷ Cf. Von Schnurbein 2000, 34.
- ¹¹⁸ I acknowledge Volker Michael Strocka for this observation.
- ¹¹⁹ Noack/Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, Taf. 3 and 4.
- ¹²⁰ Dickmann 1999a, 30.
- ¹²¹ Förtsch 1995, 626 and fig. 16.
- ¹²² Dickmann 1999a, 184 (*oecus*) and 330 (*cenatio*).
- ¹²³ Strocka 1991, 115.
- ¹²⁴ Clarke 1991, 126-127; Dickmann 1999a, 184 and 330.
- ¹²⁵ On the idea of clustering rooms in Mediterranean domestic architecture: Dickmann 1999a, *passim*.
- ¹²⁶ Cf. Dickmann 1999a, 151-158.
- ¹²⁷ Noack/Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, 150-152. The *tablinum* was rebuilt from scratch in *opus incertum mixtum*.
- ¹²⁸ Maiuri 1958, 222-239 esp. 223; De Vos 1982, 288-292.
- ¹²⁹ Förtsch 1995, 622-623.
- ¹³⁰ Also Jansen 1999, 812.
- ¹³¹ In his report on the fire of AD 64 Suetonius (*Nero* 38.2) mentions that not only were a large number of *insulae* lost, but also houses (*domus*) that belonged to former commanders of the army. The *Forma Urbis Romae* demonstrates that there were still atrium houses in Severan Rome. On the replacement of the Ostian *domus* by apartment buildings: Packer 1969, 47: (...) 'Within a few years, whole sections of the older city were leveled and rebuilt so that most of the existing ruins date from the reign of Hadrian. Such extensive urban renewal changed the entire complexion of the city. Gone were the spacious mansions which had characterized the port on the accession of Trajan.' Cf. Dickmann 1999b, 628. Liedtke 1999, 685: 'In Ostia prägten noch bis zum Beginn des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. Domus das Stadtbild.' On the decline of the Pompeian atrium: Gros 2001, 61-62. As previously stated by Dickmann 1999b, 628, in Pompeii the process of replacing atrium houses with apartment buildings is not documented. The Pompeian examples

- of a townhouse without an atrium are rare and they all date from the last decades directly preceding the eruption of AD 79. Regarding the gradual disappearance of the atrium, Pompeii most likely was a trend follower rather than a trendsetter, but this, of course, is true for the vast majority of Roman cities. Therefore, if the armies of the north recruited their high-rank officers from a larger geographical area, there is no reason to believe that in the Augustan period these people considered the atrium to be an outdated feature.
- ¹³² As previously: Ward-Perkins 1981, 185.
- ¹³³ Ward-Perkins 1981, 185.
- ¹³⁴ For example, the monumental atrium tract of the Pompeian Casa VIII 2, 16 was rebuilt from scratch in *opus incertum mixtum* and *opus reticulatum* of Nocera tufa with layers of brick in between. According to Noack/Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, 150-152 the rebuilding took place immediately after the earthquake of AD 62 (mid-sixties). De Vos 1982, 57-58 less precisely opts for the 1st century AD. According to Bruno/Scott 1993, 161-191 the House of the Birds at Cosa was built on the remains of an older atrium house between 40-20 BC.
- ¹³⁵ On Vitruvius being up to date (third quarter of the 1st century BC): Gros 2001, 62.
- ¹³⁶ *Opus reticulatum* was first applied in the mid-1st century BC (theater of Pompey 55 BC). During the reign of Augustus the use of *opus reticulatum* had become fashionable both in Rome and Pompeii; Carrington 1933, 132; Meiggs 1973, 539; Adam 1988, 142-147.
- ¹³⁷ Meiggs 1973, 35 and 539.
- ¹³⁸ Cf. Dickmann 1999a, passim. Gros 2001, 62 adds as a third reason the improved water provision. Water from the inward sloping atrium roof was no longer needed for the household.
- ¹³⁹ As previously: Meiggs 1973, 251.
- ¹⁴⁰ Maiuri 1947, 5-9; Drerup 1959, 135-139. According to Zanker 1995, 150-162 the remodeling took place immediately after the earthquake of AD 62. He considers the house, especially its garden area, a miniature villa stuffed with distasteful decorative elements; Dickmann, 1999a, 353; Gros 2001, 102-111.
- ¹⁴¹ Translation Rowland/Howe 2001. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 10. On the distinction between public and private in the context of domestic architecture see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17-37.
- ¹⁴² Haalebos 1991, 99. House no. 9 at Nijmegen resembles the older Pompeian Casa I 14, 7; Peterse 1999, 131 and Beilage 4. Also: Evans 1980, 74-94 category C; Hoffmann 1984, 111-115. Sodo 1988, 195-202. Nappo 1997, 108. Examples in Herculaneum: De Kind 1998, 292-294: Casa della Fullonica (IV 5-7) and 270-271: Casa dell'Ara Laterizia (III 17); Ganschow 1989, 321-323, 329. For Cosa: Bruno/Scott 1993, 13-30: West Block, esp. Plots 2-3. The relationship between the Pompeian row houses and the dwellings in the West Block at Cosa was previously noticed by Miele 1989, 179-181. For Ostia: Mannucci 1995, House V,ii,10 on map 39.
- ¹⁴³ Here it is important to bear in mind that the fortress was abandoned in approximately 10 BC or shortly thereafter. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for house no. 9.
- ¹⁴⁴ Weber 2001, 196 and fig. 10 (Holzbauphase 4). Weber noticed that in Kempten-Cambodunum more houses followed this pattern.
- ¹⁴⁵ Weber 2001, 199.
- ¹⁴⁶ Weber 2001, 199; Von Schnurbein 2002, 21. Von Schnurbein 2003, 98-104 on half-timbered building no. 5 featuring an atrium arrangement.
- ¹⁴⁷ Von Schnurbein 2000, 34-35; 2002, 11.
- ¹⁴⁸ Von Schnurbein 2002, 11.
- ¹⁴⁹ Zanker 1995, 150.
- ¹⁵⁰ Zanker 1995, 141-210.
- ¹⁵¹ Cf. Leach 1997, 59-62.
- ¹⁵² Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ¹⁵³ Rakob 1976, 369; Strocka 1991, 91 who provides a list of eleven preserved Corinthian *oeci*; Dickmann 1999a, 213-215.
- ¹⁵⁴ Adam 1988, 173-211.
- ¹⁵⁵ As preserved in Corbridge, Valkenburg Z.H. and Avenches: Richmond 1961, 22-23; Tour 1983, 55.
- ¹⁵⁶ Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ¹⁵⁷ Rakob 1976, 369; Strocka 1991, 91; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 21-23; Zanker 1995, 143; Dickmann 1999a, 213-215.
- ¹⁵⁸ Strocka 1991, 68-69, 107-115 and plate 48.
- ¹⁵⁹ Strocka 1991, 68 and plate 48.
- ¹⁶⁰ I thank Wolfgang Ehrhardt, author of the forthcoming monograph on the house in the series *Häuser in Pompeji*, for sharing this information.
- ¹⁶¹ Carandini 1985; Strocka 1991, 91; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 52-54 and fig. 3.20; Gros 2001, 279-283.
- ¹⁶² Carettoni 1983, 52-60; Leach 1997, 60-63.
- ¹⁶³ Carettoni 1983, 86.
- ¹⁶⁴ Barbet 1985, 86 measured 5.18-5.30 x 10.70-10.77 m. Dickmann 1999a, 214, who also mentions a distance of 0.6 m.
- ¹⁶⁵ Carettoni 1983, 52.
- ¹⁶⁶ Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ¹⁶⁷ On the meaning of such columns in a Mediterranean context: Dickmann 1999a, 214: 'Daß diese zudem durch die Einführung von Säulen in den Innenraum erzielt wurde, steigerte den Effekt und unterstreicht die Wertschätzung, die man der Säule als nobilitierendem Element luxuriöser Architektur entgegenbrachte.'
- ¹⁶⁸ Dickmann 1999a, 30.
- ¹⁶⁹ Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ¹⁷⁰ The observations in the *praetorium* of Nijmegen seem to document this procedure. The distance between the columns of *oecus* 42 equals 3.7 m. The width of adjacent *triclinium* 40 equals 4.3 m. The distance between the columns of *oecus* 27 equals 4.0 m. The width of *triclinium* 31 equals 3.9 m.
- ¹⁷¹ The archaeological evidence in front of room 27 has been disturbed in recent times. It seems obvious, however, that the characteristics of room 42 also applied to room 27.
- ¹⁷² Clarke 1991, passim on framed views and for bibliographical references.
- ¹⁷³ Ling 1997, 60 plates 28-29.
- ¹⁷⁴ A cellar like this covered with a wooden hatch was found in the fortress of Haltern. Kühlborn 1992, 40.
- ¹⁷⁵ On the phenomenon of an arrangement with various doorways in a row: Dickmann 1999a, 237-238.
- ¹⁷⁶ On this subdivision of *triclinia* in a Mediterranean context: Dickmann 1999a, 215-219.
- ¹⁷⁷ Cf. Dickmann 1999a, 218: 'Bevor deren (i.e. servants) Tätigkeit einsetzte, mußte der Raum aber von den Gästen selbst betreten und ihnen ein Platz angewiesen worden sein. Dieser Moment des Eintretens wird als Vorführung des entsprechenden Raumes von besonderer Bedeutung gewesen sein. Der Vorraum verzögerte das tatsächliche Erreichen der Klinen, ein Effekt, der einer zeremoniellen Vorführung von Dekoration und Mobiliar dienen konnte.'
- ¹⁷⁸ For this phenomenon in Mediterranean domestic architecture: Dickmann 1999a, passim.

- ¹⁷⁹ Strocka 1991, 107-115; cf. Clarke 1991, 113.
- ¹⁸⁰ De Vos 1982, 250-254; Clarke 1991, 113-123; Dickmann 1999a, 184-186 and plate 4d.
- ¹⁸¹ Strocka 1991, 114; Dickmann 1999a, 181-184.
- ¹⁸² Cf. De Vos 1982, 255-256, in which the largest room N is regarded as a winter dining room, while the adjacent room M is referred to as a *cubiculum*. Also: Dickmann 1999a, 181-184. The special suite seems to have been present also in the northeast corner of the Villa dei Papiri's large peristyle (De Vos 1982, 262). Cf. Förtsch 1995, 624-626 who observes a 'Dreiflügeltrakt' in the layout of the Augustan *praetorium* of Anreppen.
- ¹⁸³ The suite is present in the villa on the Sint Jansberg at Mook-Plasmolen and in the villa on the Krichelberg at Kerkrade-Kaalheide, both in the Netherlands and both built in the 2nd century AD. Koster/Peterse/Swinkels 2002, 40-53.
- ¹⁸⁴ Jansen 1997, 128 on Pompeian evidence: 'Nearly all the toilets were found in the working areas of the houses. Most of them were situated in the kitchen (...) or near it (...).'
- ¹⁸⁵ Stable 34 may have had a secondary entrance facing the peristyle.
- ¹⁸⁶ I acknowledge Eric Moormann for his contribution to this part of the analysis.
- ¹⁸⁷ I acknowledge Volker Michael Strocka for his contribution to this part of the analysis.
- ¹⁸⁸ As previously noticed by Förtsch 1995, 630.
- ¹⁸⁹ Strocka 1991, 67-68 who believes the four tuff columns are an addition to the original layout. According to Strocka the latter originates from approximately 130 BC. The tetrastyle atrium would have been introduced as part of the remodeling around 100 BC.
- ¹⁹⁰ Spinazzola 1953, 335-365.
- ¹⁹¹ Height of the tuff columns: I 2, 28 (4.70 m after Schipper 1992, 148), V 2, i (6.86 m after Mau 1908, 317), VI 7, 21 (4.22 m after Evans 1980, 32), VI 11, 10 (6.04 m after Strocka 1991, 28), VI 12, 5 (5.87 m after Mau 1908, 310), VII 13, 8 (unknown), IX 14, 4 (6.80 m after Spinazzola 1953, 337).
- ¹⁹² Dimensions of older tetrastyle atria (width x depth) featuring tuff columns: House I 2, 28 (9.75x9.90 m after Evans 1980, 31), Casa delle Nozze d'Argento V 2, i (11.98x16.58 m), Casa del Labirinto VI 11, 10 (11.22x11.46 m), Casa della Fontana Grande VI 7, 21 (7.70x7.75 m after Evans 1980, 32), Casa del Fauno VI 12, 5 (10.76x12.26 m after Evans 1980, 32), House VII 13, 8 (8.50x10.62 m), Casa di M. Obellio Firmo IX 14, 4 (13.85x17.30 m). Dimensions of later tetrastyle atria (width x depth): Casa dei Cei I 6, 15 (columns covered by plaster - 9.38x9.83 m), House VI 7, 3 (7.00x7.50 m after Evans 1980, 32), House VI 15, 6 (8.18x8.40 m), House VI 15, 9 (7.20x5.75 m after Evans 1980, 32), House VII 2, 35 (measurements uncertain).
- ¹⁹³ This applies to houses I 6, 15, VI 7, 3, VI 15, 6, VI 15, 9 and VII 2, 35. Cf. Evans 1980, 31-34 who mentions two examples of an atrium in which instead of columns brick piers were added. Evans did not include House VI 15, 6; Peterse 1999, 117-148.
- ¹⁹⁴ Schipper 1992, 127-149.
- ¹⁹⁵ Height of the columns in the group of younger tetrastyle atria: Casa dei Cei I 6, 15 (columns covered by plaster - 4.12 m after Schipper 1992, 148), House I 8, 17 (4.12 m after Schipper 1992, 148), House VI 7, 3 (full height not preserved), House VI 15, 6 (height unknown), House VI 15, 9 (4.0 m after Evans 1980, 32), House VII 2, 35 (full height not preserved).
- ¹⁹⁶ Peterse 1999, 117-148 and plan on Beilage 15.
- ¹⁹⁷ One should consider the possibility that the columns were added without interfering with the existing construction of the roof.
- ¹⁹⁸ Plin. *Nat.* 17.1-2 on the marble columns erected in the atrium of Lucius Licinius Crassus on the Palatine.
- ¹⁹⁹ Cf. Michel 1990, 66.
- ²⁰⁰ Schipper 1992, 127-149 distinguished between construction before and after 89 BC. She considers the tetrastyle atrium of the Casa dei Cei (I 6, 15) and House I 8, 17 to have been built post 89 BC.
- ²⁰¹ Clarke 1991, 127; Dickmann 1999a, 330.
- ²⁰² Gros 2001, 63.
- ²⁰³ I thank Wolfgang Ehrhardt for sharing this information prior to the publication of his monograph on the house.
- ²⁰⁴ Carettoni 1983, 86.
- ²⁰⁵ Carettoni 1983, plan 1 and 2 on pages 8 and 10.
- ²⁰⁶ According to Strocka 1991, 121: 40-30 BC.
- ²⁰⁷ Strocka 1990, 221.
- ²⁰⁸ Ling 1997, 79 (40-30 BC) referring to Beyen 1960, 120-198 (40-25 BC).
- ²⁰⁹ Ling 1997, 66-67.
- ²¹⁰ Ling 1997, 76-78.
- ²¹¹ Spinazzola 1953, 335-365.
- ²¹² Strocka 1990, 221.
- ²¹³ Clarke 1991, 127-128 and fig. 51.
- ²¹⁴ Strocka 1991, 107-115; Cf. Clarke 1991, 113.
- ²¹⁵ Noack/Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, 121-128, Tav. 17.
- ²¹⁶ Ehrhardt 1998, 125 and Tav. 81. The increased intercolumniation is indicated as a second step within the building phase of the late Republic and early Empire.
- ²¹⁷ Ehrhardt 1998, 64.
- ²¹⁸ Strocka 1984, 34-35 and fig. 44.
- ²¹⁹ Clarke 1991, 49-53.
- ²²⁰ Translation Rowland/Howe 2001.
- ²²¹ Clarke 1991, 50.
- ²²² Clarke 1991, 50.
- ²²³ Clarke 1991, 51.
- ²²⁴ Clarke 1991, 51.
- ²²⁵ Strocka 1991, 97, 101-104.
- ²²⁶ Maiuri 1973, 169-171; Peterse 1985, 35-56; De Albentis 1989, 43-84; Schipper 1989, 35-36; Peterse 1993, 4-7, Pirson 1999, 44-47. Dimensions of the peristyle: 14.95x19.79 m. Interaxial distances: 2.32 m (width) and 2.36 m (length).
- ²²⁷ Schipper 1989, 87-89. Dimensions of minor peristyle-featuring tufa columns: 14.96x19.96 m. Interaxial distances: 2.21 m (width) and 2.33 m (length).
- ²²⁸ Schipper 1989, 104-107. Dimensions of the Corinthian atrium: 11.59-11.62 x 17.30-17.36 m. Interaxial distances: 1.63 m (width) and 1.67 m (length).
- ²²⁹ Zanker 1995, 26-27, 174-181; Dickmann 1999a, *passim*.
- ²³⁰ Dickmann 1999a, 318 on *cenatio* 18 in the Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4): 'Auch in der Dachlandschaft verursachte der Umbau erhebliche Veränderungen, da man das hohe Satteldach mit dem nach Westen weisenden, dominanten Giebel bereits bei Eintritt in das Peristyl wahrnahm und als Wegweiser zur *cenatio* erkannte.'
- ²³¹ Cf. Dickmann 1999a, 323.
- ²³² Cf. Clarke 1991, 81-85.
- ²³³ Seiler 1992, 78-79 and 82-83, plates 95 and 96. According to Seiler 1992, 78 a floor mosaic from the period of the late Second Style in room I provides a terminus ante quem for the construction of the Rhodian peristyle; Zanker 1995, 174-181.
- ²³⁴ Based on the archaeological evidence it must be considered highly implausible that the columns in atrium 9

were intended to support a built-in upper storey. Although the columns were load bearing, their presence was not a structural necessity as seen in the considerably larger Tuscan atrium in the *praetorium* of Oberaden.

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Eastern Sigillata A in Italy *A socio-economic Evaluation*

Daniele Malfitana, Jeroen Poblome and John Lund

Abstract

*This paper takes a fresh look at the distribution of eastern sigillata A in Italy. The attested pattern is explained against the contemporary political, socio-economic and cultural background of the growing impact of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean. Especially in its early stages, the trade in eastern sigillata A formed part of wider patterns of dialectic exchange. In this way, the paper illustrates how the consumption of household artefacts could reflect and interact with wider processes, elevating eastern sigillata A to the status of desirable surrogate. Finally, a possible association with Rhosica vasa is suggested.**

[Γάι(ος) Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων κατὰ νόμον
Μουνάτιον καὶ Αἰμίλιον πολειτείαν καὶ ἀνεισφορίαν
πάντων τῶν [ὑπαρχόντων] ἔδωκαν ...
Σέλευκος Θεοδότου Ῥωσέως ...
[Epitaph of Seleukos from Rhosos¹]

RHOSICA VASA MANDAVI

On 20 February 50 BC, Marcus Tullius Cicero replied to a letter from his old school friend Titus Pomponius Atticus.² At the time Cicero was in office as proconsul of Cilicia,³ residing at Laodikeia ad Lycum.⁴ His letter was very much a political document, complaining of the abuses of power in the region before he took over the provincial administration and discussing the convictions of the higher Roman political élite in the events leading up to Civil War between Caesar and Pompey. Before moving on to describing the threat of a Parthian War, Cicero casually mentioned ‘*Rhosica vasa mandavi*’, or the fact that he ordered the tableware from Rhosos,⁵ which Atticus had apparently requested in a previous letter, and he mocks his friend’s desire for earthenware.

Cicero’s remarks reveal that Rhosian ware was actually a specific type of ceramic tableware that could be considered a fashionable commodity. A second literary testimony in the second century AD, *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaios,⁶ claimed that Cleopatra VII, imitating Roman ways of life, served her dinners on Rhosian ware. It confirms the special nature of the tableware gracing the tables of the highest social circles. Nevertheless, *Rhosica vasa* have not featured widely in the archae-

ological literature, and, in spite of the papers of Francis Jones⁷ and Linda-Marie Hans,⁸ their identification should still be considered a matter that has not been solved satisfactorily.

Ancient Rhosos or Rhosopolis, formerly known as Arsuz and nowadays as Üluçınar in the Turkish province of İskenderun, lies in the shadow of the Amanus mountains, about 32 km S of Alexandretta. The town was founded by the legendary Cilix, son of Agenor⁹ or, in reality, possibly, by Seleukos I Nikator around 300 BC,¹⁰ but not much is known about this ancient settlement, being a silent witness to the geo-political events of the time. Along with the rest of the Seleucid kingdom, Rhosos was brought under Roman rule¹¹ as a consequence of the re-arrangements enforced by Pompey the Great in the region, in dealing with the Cilician pirates¹² and the political squabbling of the Seleucid dynasts. He organised *Cilicia Campestris* as a province in 66 BC, the remainder of the Seleucid kingdom as the province of Syria in 64 BC. *Cilicia Campestris* was joined with Syria in 44 or 43 BC. In 36 BC, Rhosos may have formed part of the lavish territorial gifts of Marc Antony to Cleopatra VII, but this proved to be only a short interlude before the battle of Actium. Evidently, the shifting of power had more than political consequences for the region, which became rapidly integrated into Roman fiscal, administrative, juridical, social and economical policies. The Tetrapolis of ancient Antioch, Seleukeia Pieria, Apamea and Laodikeia, in the hinterland of which Rhosos was situated, profited greatly from the stabilisation of the region.

Recent archaeometrical¹³ and archaeological¹⁴ research has indicated that a major player in the

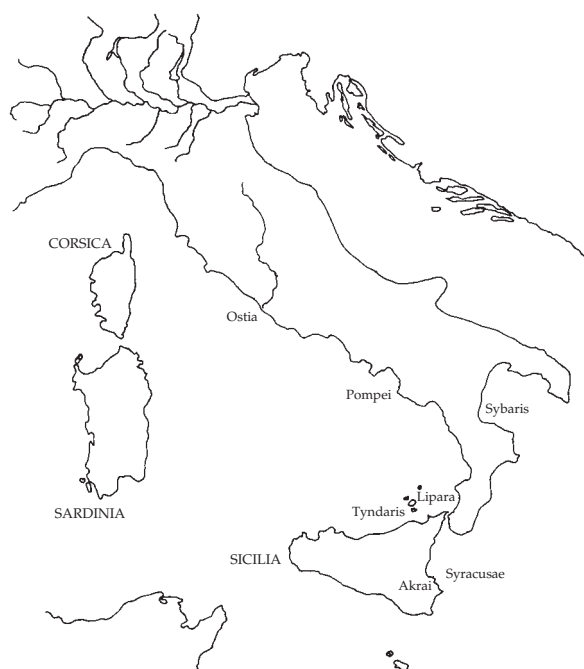


Fig. 1. ESA in Italy: data after *Atlante II* (1985).



Fig. 2. ESA in Italy: updates.

contemporary tableware market was produced in this general area: eastern sigillata A (ESA). The production of ESA started around the middle of the second century BC and the specific ophiolitic nature of its clays has been linked to the region between ancient Tarsos and Laodikeia. It is our contention to identify the fashionable Rhodian tableware, ordered by a Roman provincial governor on behalf of one of his very rich friends in Rome, with late Hellenistic ESA, and to suggest Rhosos as one of its possible centres of production¹⁵, giving its name to the tableware in question. We consider the widely exported ESA as a better candidate to represent the *vasa Rhosica* than the lead-glazed wares proposed by F.F. Jones.¹⁶ In her article, Jones ruled out the option of ESA, or the 'Hellenistic Pergamene' ware as it was still called confusingly in those days, based on the fact that this type of tableware did not represent a novelty on the market. We argue that Cicero's letter does not so much stress the new character of the ware, but rather its fashionable nature.

EASTERN SIGILLATA A IN ITALY

Within the framework of ROCT, being the international and interdisciplinary research network concerned with the 'Roman Crafts and Trade', supported by the Fund for Scientific Research-

Flanders, Belgium, a research project was initiated involving the present authors, members of respectively the Italian National Research Council-CNR, the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and the National Museum of Denmark, focussing on the ceramic phenomenon of eastern sigillata.¹⁷ One specific aspect of this study of the mechanisms of production and exchange of eastern sigillata involves the distribution of these eastern Mediterranean wares in the western parts of the Roman territories and an appraisal of the degree of their penetration of the market, their competitiveness with other ceramic tablewares and their general impact, also from a social and fashionable point of view. This paper presents ESA in an Italian context between the second century BC and the second century AD, and offers an explanation for the success of the distribution of the ware.

The study of eastern sigillata in archaeological contexts of the Roman homeland has not yet received wide scholarly attention. This can partly be explained by the many research efforts on the native Italian sigillata lines of production, in particular Arretine sigillata, and partly by the difficulties experienced in identifying the eastern products, with the concept of 'presigillata'¹⁸ not necessarily making matters any easier. Consulting J. W. Hayes' section on ESA in the acclaimed '*Atlante delle forme ceramiche (II)*',¹⁹ for instance,

Table 1. ESA in Italy: overview per region.

Aemilia	0	Samnium	0
Apulia & Calabria	316	Prov. Sardinia	60
Campania	258	Prov. Sicilia	87
Etruria	41	Transpadana	0
Liguria	0	Umbria	3
Lucania & Bruttium	0	Venetia & Histria	7
Picenum	7		

Table 2. ESA: Hellenistic series (numbers on the left refer to the shapes by Atlante II).

1	-	9	-	17	-	25	-
2	1	10	4	18	-	26	2
3	70	11	1	19	-	27	-
4	24	12	10	20	1	101	-
5	6	13	1	21	-	102	-
6	4	14	-	22	56	103	-
7	23	15	3	23	-	104	-
8	-	16	-	24	-	105	1

Table 3. ESA: Early Roman series.

28	4	34	1	40	-	46	-
29	5	35	-	41	-	47	81
30	4	36	66	42	6	48	2
31	-	37	-	43	-	49	1
32	5	38	-	44	-	50	5
33	-	39	-	45	4	51	-

Table 4. ESA: Middle Roman series.

52	-	54	1	56	-	58-	
53	5	55	-	57	2	61	-

Table 5. Chronological evolution of the pattern of importation (numbers refer to the examples attested for each period).

Hellenistic series	207
Early Roman series	184
Middle-Roman series	8
Late series (Antonine)	60
Rare shapes	3
Uncertain (shape/chronology)	311

supports our point: only few Italian finds are listed, and in all only five ESA-shapes are documented, forming part of the Hellenistic series (*fig. 1*).

This paper presents a preliminary quantified overview of the presence of ESA in Italy, based on published and unpublished data, under review of the authors. *Fig. 2* visualises the data and highlights

the trends. ESA is mainly attested in three regions:

1. the southern Adriatic coastal region²⁰ in which the harbours of Brindisi and Otranto feature predominantly,²¹ along with some Calabrian data,²²
2. the eastern coast of Sicily, including the Eolian islands,²³ with important data from Morgantina²⁴ and Syracuse²⁵ and a wider distribution attested by the recent data from Iaitas²⁶ and other sites,²⁷ and

3. Campania²⁸ with relatively high amounts at Pompeii²⁹ and Puteoli.³⁰

The archaeological record of Pompeii attests to the relatively important amounts of Hayes' late Hellenistic ESA Forms 3 and 22,³¹ demonstrating the commercial integration of the town. The port of Puteoli³² holds the key to understanding the influx of eastern commodities as part of the contemporary exchange patterns on the Tyrrhenian, as further demonstrated by the *stationes* of eastern merchants in the towns of Campania, such as the merchants from Syrian Tyros³³ at Puteoli.³⁴ The representation of ESA along the coast of Latium is relatively less important. Ostia³⁵ in particular, shows an odd lack of material. This picture is confirmed by recent investigations along the coast of northern Etruria.³⁶ Table 1 shows the presence of ESA in Italy per region.

The total of 399 typologically identified ESA fragments demonstrates clear preferences for particular types imported into Italy, mainly for the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods (*tables 2-4*). Table 5 summarises the chronological evolution of the pattern of importation. Late Hellenistic ESA is represented consistently, while ESA is particularly scarce in early imperial times, no doubt due to the availability and competition of the high-quality native types of sigillata. A modest increase is recorded in mid imperial times, with ESA mainly attested along the southern Adriatic coast and in Sicily, and fewer examples in Campania and Latium, where the late Italian wares were predominant.³⁷ Interestingly, ESA is now also attested for the Antonine period, with a series of finds at Brindisi documenting the lingering interest in this tableware.

POTS AND PEOPLE

Obviously, our data need to be placed in their context. In ceramological terms, the so-called Megarian bowls, or rather mould-made bowls, formed a prelude to the pattern described above. Especially the distribution of such drinking vessels made in the monogram ΠΑ (Pariou?)³⁸

workshop at Ephesos³⁹ was very wide, concentrated in the Aegean and Black Seas, but also reaching the Italian peninsula and further West. The unparalleled distribution of this ware should be seen in the context of the increasing Roman impact on the East,⁴⁰ represented by the growing number of Italian *negotiatores*⁴¹ and *mercatores*⁴² in the eastern Mediterranean. These commercial agents were instrumental in creating the framework for the contemporary commercial East-West traffic, in which the island of Delos⁴³ and the metropolis of Ephesos⁴⁴ assumed a key role.

Especially from late Republican times onwards, the patterns of exchange were intensified, as exemplified by the case of Morgantina in Sicily.⁴⁵ Clearly, the notion sustained until recently⁴⁶ that late Republican Italy showed little interest in common eastern artefacts has to be revised. Our very same Cicero, ordering *vasa Rhosica* in 50 BC, highlighted in his *Orationes* 'Against Verres'⁴⁷ the arrival in the West not only of people but also of a range of commodities from the eastern Mediterranean, including purple, incense, perfumes,⁴⁸ flax, gems, pearls, and above all slave manpower.⁴⁹ J.J. Aubert⁵⁰ demonstrated, using legal, literary and epigraphic evidence, that the arrival in Rome and the West of a variety of eastern commodities was to an important extent also generated by the activities of business managers or *institutores*.⁵¹ This was the result of drastic innovations in late Republican law reflecting the importance of agency in the Roman economy, in response to commercial or other⁵² demands. D. Noy⁵³ recently provided confirmation of the considerable degree of movement of people and the gravitational pull of Rome by enumerating 115 individuals from Syria and Palestine represented epigraphically in the capital city and Italy in general during one century. Also, D. Musti⁵⁴ demonstrated the interaction of the late Republican economy with the Hellenistic economies,⁵⁵ ascribing a major role to Puteoli,⁵⁶ the port of which symbolised commercial activity with the East. In addition to Puteoli and later on Ostia,⁵⁷ he also pointed out the emerging role of Sicily in this context, forming part of the exchange patterns as a profitable intermediary stop on the way to Campania and Latium, fostered by the geographical position of the island.⁵⁸ Magna Graecia⁵⁹ may have shown the rest of the Italian peninsula the way to the East and maintained its traditional strong links with its Greek origins into this period, manifested by a noticeable Greek presence in Naples, Velia,⁶⁰ Taranto and other towns.⁶¹ The granting of citizenship⁶² by Italian townships to eastern Greeks

clearly formed part of a deliberate and opportunistic economic policy on behalf of the Roman towns in function of their integration in the profitable patterns of long-distance exchange by rewarding protagonist individuals (*negotiatores*, *mercatores*, *τραπέζιται*⁶³). The granting of Roman citizenship by Octavian to Seleukos, as attested on his tombstone datable to 41 or 36 BC and found in the necropolis of Rhosos⁶⁴ is of special interest in this context, illuminating how also this town formed part of the contemporary political and social network linking the East with the West.

The crucial archaeological matter is to recognise the exchange of material goods such individuals brought about, and to consider not only what types of wares formed part of these exchange patterns, but also the different nature of these commodities, ranging from profitable items shaping and maintaining the exchange patterns to other items which were more or less parasitic on the existing traffic. *Vasa Rhosica*, for example, formed part of such patterns.

At the same time, a growing Italian presence in eastern communities⁶⁵ is also noticeable. On Delos, where the sources allow the reconstruction of trends, most Italian merchants originated from Apulia, Campania and Magna Graecia. The rest of the peninsula came in second place, and Rome was noticeably underrepresented. Two brothers from Velia,⁶⁶ Θέων Ἐρμῶνος Ἐλεάτης and Θρασύδημος Ἐρμῶνος Ἐλεάτης, for instance, settled on Delos early in the first century BC as *helaiopoi* (merchants of oil), providing, along with other Italian merchants, a framework for the marked presence in the Cycladic emporium of Italian amphorae.⁶⁷ Trebios Loisios, possibly from Pompeii, some of whose financial activities are documented on early second century BC Delos,⁶⁸ might be identified on Graeco-italic amphorae found at various sites throughout the Mediterranean,⁶⁹ along with Gaios Ariston whose name appears in amphora stamps found at Delos and Elis and who may be identified with C. Aristo⁷⁰ in other, Latin, stamps. These agents may have belonged to the higher social strata in their native context. The activities of the resourceful Puteolean banker, C. Vestorius,⁷¹ who was well known to Cicero, also fit the pattern. The somewhat dated, yet still valuable work of J. Hatzfeld dealing with the presence of Italian tradesmen in the East, together with the recent conference proceedings *Les Italiens dans le monde grec* (2002) provide a most detailed picture of the movement of individuals and their actions in the eastern territories under growing Roman influence.⁷²

Involvement in the Delian commercial community could also broker personal success for eastern merchants, as was the case for Philostratos, son of Philostratos, from Ascalon, active as a banker on Delos around 100 BC and who may have obtained citizenship of Naples.⁷³ Similarly, Simalos, son of Timarchos,⁷⁴ from Salamis on Cyprus was active on Delos in the last decades of the second century BC and was honoured with citizenship at Taranto, and Midas, son of Zenon, documented in the Agora of the Italians at Delos possessed citizenship of Heraclea.⁷⁵

A PROCESS OF DIALECTIC EXCHANGE

From this evidence, it is clear that in the late Hellenistic period an intricate and multi-faceted pattern of exchange was established between the Italian peninsula and the lands *ex oriente lux*. In this context, tablewares such as ESA will for sure not have been trend-setting commodities, but as most such goods have vanished from the archaeological record, the distribution pattern of ESA can be considered an important indicator for the contemporary socio-economic network. In order to understand the role of ESA in its Italian framework it is necessary, as a first step, to go back to its native, eastern context.

Although reddish tablewares had a long tradition in the Levant,⁷⁶ the appearance of ESA around 150 BC, at first even in a mixed black and red slipped mode, and its fairly sudden commercial success should be seen as part of a wider process of intensification of craft production and trade. As far as tablewares are concerned, this process may have been introduced with the *koinè* of the mould-made bowls sketched earlier, but also glass production was brought up to speed with a series of mainly monochrome cast drinking vessels, typically associated with the Levant as region of origin.⁷⁷ Whether or not Rhosos should be identified as the or one of the place(s) of manufacture of ESA is still an open question and, of course, the last thing we should do is to jump to conclusions based on this potentially misleading evidence. This is a matter for an integrated interdisciplinary project, forming a crucial part of the new way in which we try to approach classical archaeology. The fact that J.-Y. Empereur and M. Picon⁷⁸ found evidence of production of carrot and LR1 amphorae to the north and south of Rhosos and - more importantly - also in the centre of modern Rhosos, associated with common wares and a red slipped tableware, certainly thickens the plot, and invites new fieldwork.

Considering the late Hellenistic distribution pattern of ESA, it is intriguingly simple to note that this type of tableware is in a league of its own.⁷⁹ Within a couple of decades ESA dominated the markets throughout the eastern Mediterranean and beyond, with notable concentrations at Paphos,⁸⁰ Tarsos,⁸¹ Antioch,⁸² Apamea,⁸³ Hama⁸⁴ and Tel Anafa.⁸⁵ This stands in clear contrast to other contemporary types of late Hellenistic sigillata which had a regional importance, such as ESD which was mainly restricted to Cyprus and the Levant,⁸⁶ or ESC.⁸⁷

Why ESA achieved its dominating position is a question that is only recently being asked. Its success could be related to either the outstanding quality of the product, from a technological, design and/or functional point of view, or to more efficient distribution mechanisms, which enabled ESA to flood the market in very large quantities.⁸⁸ To us, however, both answers, even combined, may not be sufficient to explain this phenomenon, as the first option is too strictly ceramological in nature, and the second needs further substantiation, and above all knowledge of the production centre(s).

Perhaps the supra-regional demand for late Hellenistic ESA should be projected against a wider background, taking into account the geopolitical shifts orchestrated by Rome, which influenced contemporary exchange patterns. As the next step, we would therefore like to sail back to the Aegean island of Delos.

Delos,⁸⁹ birthplace of Apollo and Artemis and hence home to the Panhellenic sanctuary of Apollo, was handed over to Athens by the Roman senate in 167 BC, on the condition that its harbour functioned as a duty-free zone, without import or export taxes. In doing so, Rome intentionally damaged the interests of Rhodes as a result of its ambiguous position during the Third Macedonian War. Especially after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC, Delos was favoured by Rome as a port of trade between the east and west, and the island experienced as a consequence a sudden urban growth. Delos enjoyed her major role as trans-Mediterranean emporion, involving mainly Greek, Italian and Oriental traders in eastern luxuries and slaves only for a short period, however. The town and mainly its Italian traders were targeted and raided in 88 BC by Mithridates VI, and again in 69 BC by the pirate Athenodoros. Perhaps mainly due to the growing competition of Italian harbours and the fact that commercial opportunities expanded considerably in post-Mithridatic Asia Minor, the late Hellenistic trade centre was to be reduced to the status of a village.

It is clear, however, that the trans-Mediterranean *emporion* is of crucial importance to understanding contemporary exchange patterns and may have been vital in establishing the distribution pattern of ESA in the Aegean and the western Mediterranean in its early decades.⁹⁰ Delos catered for the needs of Italy, which had grown powerful and rich in the second century BC, by funnelling large amounts of slaves and a wide variety of luxury products, mainly from the Near East to Rome. Levantine merchants clearly contributed largely to the success of the island port by controlling the supply mechanisms. New money was to be made and, in the case of Delos' mentor Athens, N. Vogeikoff⁹¹ has recently demonstrated how this may have influenced the introduction of commercially generated capital into the local politics and elite taste. The rich, and in this case the nouveaux riches, were keen to demonstrate their prestige, and Oriental precious metal plate⁹² and other luxuries may have played a role in this context. For the not so rich, as always, surrogates were available and in this particular case ESA may have grown into a desirable surrogate for eastern precious metal plate and thus acquired an esteemed position in the tableware market.⁹³ It was hip to have ESA!

In a way this specific sociological context paving the way for ESA is reminiscent of what would happen about a century later to Italian sigillata.⁹⁴ The success of ESA seems to have been dependent on conditions created by Rome in the East - whether we choose to refer to this development using the somewhat doubtful term 'Romanization' or not.⁹⁵ It originated in a process of dialectical exchange, resulting from an increased Roman presence in the East, intensifying trade and communication, whilst progressively integrating eastern material culture into a Roman way of life. The fact that this type of tableware also met with a certain degree of success in Italian homes may be explained against this same background. The import of eastern luxuries for the Italian rich - and their derivatives to their common counterparts - symbolised the Roman hegemony over the eastern Mediterranean, before many of the regions were actually annexed. In this way, the consumption of household artefacts may reflect and interact with wider cultural, political and socio-economic patterns.⁹⁶ Such processes of interaction are no longer thought to result from models of cultural diffusion or domination, but may have taken many forms (e.g. competition, warfare, ceremonial exchange, language and symbolic exchange), which basically involved units of equal status or peer polities.⁹⁷ In this context, the

acting process of peer polity interaction - be it coined romanization or not - is no longer regarded as a single moment in time, but rather as a continuing and localised process of dialectic exchange, which may apparently find its origins long before actual political control was in place. It initiated processes of emulation between the different regions and communities of the empire and between the different social classes. As a result, objects such as ESA may be seen as part of communication strategies, demonstrating the position of these communities, regions or classes.⁹⁸

As with any feature of the ancient society and economy, there is a very distinct need to put things in perspective. First of all, the ESA-line of production formed an integral part of the eastern typological *koinè* of tablewares, and would only be influenced by Italian wares during the second half of Augustus' long reign.⁹⁹ It was not the product that was affected by Rome - the longevity of the late Hellenistic ESA-types attested to the popularity of the eastern morphology -, but its distribution pattern. However, this aspect should be approached with caution, as throughout its entire period of production, the ESA-potters mainly survived because of regional mechanisms of marketing, a fact clearly attested in its distribution pattern. Moreover, the unpredictable profits from long-distance exchange did not entirely form part of a market economy,¹⁰⁰ but were also partly contained within a relatively closed system in which profits largely returned directly or indirectly to the wealthy individual, who had founded the potting industry.¹⁰¹ As such, the ESA-industry or rather manufactory should be considered as an exceptional phenomenon in a basically agricultural economy. The supra-regional distribution pattern of ESA should always be seen as a function of processes of interdependence, which, as such, were not inevitable. On the contrary, they were entirely contingent, context-specific, unplanned, reversible and did not lead to a unified economy, but frequently conflicted with each other.¹⁰² The mixed nature of most contemporary ceramic assemblages, of which ESA only formed a part, should be seen as the result of such processes.¹⁰³ J. Paterson has recently characterised this as an 'economy of substitution':¹⁰⁴ 'In order to create markets for your goods you have to substitute them for the goods of others. So an increase in exports from one area is normally matched by a decline in similar exports from another area. No new markets are created. ... The reasons why one region enjoys a period of popularity and expansion in the market of its goods and then declines

in the face of competition from another region are bound to be complex and not always clear-cut.' The fact that the eastern sigillata-manufactories had their main periods of activity on a supra-regional level on an average of about two centuries or less, indicates the power of such changing market mechanisms. In order to gain a deeper understanding of these mechanisms of interdependence, we need to create intelligent GIS-maps combining origin, direction, quantities and destinations. Unfortunately, as far as ESA is concerned, one very important piece of the puzzle still seems to be missing: its place of origin, and we can only hope that Rhosos in the shadow of the Amanus mountains may soon provide part of the answer.

APPENDIX

The following appendix presents all published and unpublished data from the examined sites. The tables and maps in this contribution are based on these data. The presentation of the data is per town and region, according to the organisation of Italy in 42 BC. ESA-types follow the typology of J. W. Hayes in *Atlante II*, the amounts are cited between brackets, and the publication, if available, between square brackets.

Italy

I. Campania (with Latium): 258 examples

Pompeii: 3 (42); 22 (24); 36 (61); 47 (79); 50 (3); 105 (1); [Pucci 1977, 19]; Naples: 36 (1); ? (6) [Arthur 1994, 115]; Posto, Francolise: 53 (1); 54 (1) [Aylwin Cotton 1979, 67]; Ostia: 3 (1); 4 (1); 6 (2); 22 (9); 28 (1); 36 (2); 42 (1); 47 (1); ? (21) [Ostia II, 193; Ostia III, 174, 218, 244, 258, 290, 326]; Puteoli: ? (?) [Soricelli *et al.* 1983-84, 245-285].

II. Apulia et Calabria: 316 examples

Otranto: 3 (8); 4 (2); 5 (2); 11 (1); 12 (6); 22 (7); 30 (2); 30/38 (2); 32 (1); 34 (1); 42 (2); 45 (1); 48 (1); ? (94) [Semeraro 1992, 29-41]; Valesio: 3 (1); 4 (2); 22 (1); 36 (1); ? (65) [Boersma 1995, 265-293, fig. 153]; Gravina di Puglia: 2 (3) [Small *et al.* 1992, 60]; Leuca: 3 (1); 5 (1); 22 (1); 36 (2) [Giardino 1978, 143-146]; Brindisi: 28 (1); 50 (1); 57 (1); tarda and (2); ? (102) [unpublished]; Sybaris: 4 (1) [Guzzo 1970, 114, n. 9, figg. 98, 199].

V. Picenum: 7 examples

Ancona: 4 (2); 22 (2); rare (1) [Brecciaroli Taborelli 1996-97, 5-277]; Potentia: 3-4 (2) [Mercando 1979, 223, n. 32, fig. 135e; n. 33, fig. 132h].

VI. Umbria: 3 examples

Suasa: (?) 3 [unpublished].

VII. Etruria: 41 examples

Pisa: 2 (1); 3 (2); 4 (2); 5 (1); 6 (2); 20 (1); 22 (2); 42 (1); 53 (4); 57 (1); 113 (1) [Menchelli/Pasquinucci 2000, 371-374]; Settefinestre: 22 (1); 29 (1); ? (21) [Besutti 1985].

X. Venetia et Histria: 7+ examples

Aquileia [unpublished]; ? (1) [Ventura 1991, 114-118]; ? (?) [Ventura 1994, 121-125]; Duino: 22 (1); 49 (1) [Maselli Scotti 1984, 54, tav. 4: 1-2]; 47 (3) [unpublished]; tarda g (1).

Provincia Sicilia: 87 examples

Sicilia generica: 3 (1) [Carettoni 1959, 318, n. 5, fig. 23 f]; Tindari: 4 (1); 22 (1) [Lamboglia 1951, 36-38, fig. 2-3]; Iaitas: 4 (8); 7 (20); 12 (2); 29 (2); 22 (2); 32 (4); 42 (2); ? (2) [Hedinger 1999, 164]; Castagna: 48 (1); 50 (1) [Wilson 1985, 27, fig. 23, 1-2]; Termini Imerese: 4 (1); 13 (1); 28 (2); 45 (2) [Belvedere *et al.* 1993]; Lipari: 22 (1) [Meligunis Lipàra X, 319]; Segesta: ? (1) [Mandrizzato 1997, 1064]; Morgantina: 3 (10); 5 (2); 10 (4); 7 (2); 12 (1); 15 (3); 22 (3); 29 (2); 26 (2) [Stone 1982; Stone 1987]; Siracusa: 4 (2) [Fallico 1971]; Messina: ? (1) [Bonanno 2002, 207].

Provincia Sardinia: 60 examples

Relitto di Spargi: ? (60) [Pallares Salvador 1979, 177].

NOTES

- * The authors wish to thank the *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores* and the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* editorial teams for their constructive criticism to the paper. The contribution of J. Poblome presents research results of the Interuniversity Poles of Attraction Programme - Belgian Federal Science Policy Office (IUAP P5/01/11), the Concerted Action of the Flemish Government (GOA 2002/02) and the Fund for Scientific Research-Flanders (Belgium) (projects G.0245.02 and G.0152.04).
- 1 Roussel 1934, 34. The contribution of D. Malfitana presents research results of the Commessa CNR - IBAM (006.2: PC-P05-IBAM-C2), directed by D. Malfitana titled 'Approcci multidisciplinari integrati per lo studio dei manufatti: dalla produzione alla circolazione e all'uso'.
- 2 The *Epistulae ad Atticum* were written between 68 and 44 BC and provide a wealth of historical and political documentation, and an insight into contemporary cultural life.
- 3 Cicero was *quaestor* in Sicily in 75 BC, *aedilis* in 69 BC, *praetor* in 66 BC and finally *consul* in 62 BC. Afterwards he got caught up in the events of the Civil War and was sent into exile in 58 BC. Pardoned by Pompey, he rather unexpectedly was appointed *proconsul* of Cilicia in 51 BC.
- 4 See Honigsmann 1924, 722-724; Mitchell 1991, 225.

- ⁵ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 6.1.13: 'Thermum, Silium vere audis laudari: valde se honeste gerunt. Adde M. Nonium, Bibulum, me si voles. Iam Scrofa vellem haberet ubi posset; est enim lautum negotium. Ceteri firmant πολίτευμα Catonis. Hortensio quod causam meam commendas valde gratum. De Amiano, spei nihil putat esse Dionysius. Terenti nullum vestigium agnovi. Moeragenes certe periit; feci iter per eius possessionem, in qua animal reliquum nullum est. Haec non noram tum cum <de ea re cum> Democrito tuo locutus sum. Rhosica vasa mandavi. Sed heus tu, quid cogitas? In felicitis lancibus et splendidissimis canistris holusculis non sole pascere: quid te in vasis fictilibus appositurum putem?'; translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey in Loeb's edition of 1999: 'What you hear about Thermus and Silius being well spoken of is true enough. They are doing very creditably. Add M. Nonnius, Bibulus, myself if you will. As for Scrofa, I wish he had somewhere that gave him an opportunity - he's an excellent creature. The rest are strengthening Cato's policy. I am very grateful to you for commending my cause to Hortensius. As to Amianus, Dionysius thinks there is no hope. I have not found a trace of Terentius. Moeragenes is certainly dead. I marched through his country, and there isn't a living thing left. I did not know this when I talked about the matter to your man Democritus. I have ordered the Rhosian ware - but see here, what are you up to? You give us bits of cabbage for dinner on fern-pattern dishes and in magnificent baskets. What can I expect you to serve up on earthenware?'
- ⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 6.229c: "Μέχρι γάρ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν χρόνων κεραμέοις σκεύουσιν οἱ δειπνοῦντες δηκονοῦντο, ὥς φησὶν ὁ ἑμὸς Ἰόβας. μεταβαλόντων δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολυτελεῖς Ῥωμαίων τὴν διαίταν κατὰ μίμησιν ἐκδιδάτῃ· θεῖσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταλύσασα βασιλείαν τοῦνομα οὐ δυναμένη ἀλλάξαι ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν ἀπεκάλει κέραμον αὐτὸ κέραμά τ' ἀπεδίδοδο τὰ ἀποφόρητα τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ πολυτελέστατον· εἷς τε τὸν Ῥωσικὸν εὐανθέστατον ὄντα κέραμον πέντε μνᾶς ἡμερησίᾳς ἀνήλπισκεν ἡ Κλεοπάτρα"; translation by C. Burton Gulick in Loeb's edition of 1957: 'Down to Macedonian times people at dinner were served from utensils of crockery, as my compatriot Juba says. But when the Romans shifted their mode of living in the direction of greater luxury, Cleopatra, who caused the downfall of the Egyptian monarchy, in imitation of the Romans gave up her mode of living. But not being able to change the name, she called a silver or a gold vessel "crockery" pure and simple, and used to bestow such "crockery-ware" upon her guests at dinner to take home; and this ware was of the most costly kind; for the Rhosic ware, which is the most gaily decorated of all, Cleopatra used to spend five minas every day.' The work of Athenaeus has been recently published in an accurate Italian translation: *Ateneo, I Deipnosophisti*. Among the previous editions, see: Gulick 1941. Cleopatra mentioned in this section is Cleopatra VII Philopator.
- ⁷ Jones 1945.
- ⁸ Hans 1987.
- ⁹ Mutafian 1988, 76.
- ¹⁰ Freely 1998, 197.
- ¹¹ For a wider perspective, see: Pavan 1990; Ball 2000; Sartre 2001.
- ¹² Hassall *et al.* 1974, 195-220; Rauh 1997; Avidov 1997, 5-55; Ormerod 1997; Rauh *et al.* 2000.
- ¹³ Schneider 1994, 63-66; 1995, 415-422; 1996, 192-194; 1996b, 127-136; 2000, 525-536.
- ¹⁴ Hayes 1997, 54.
- ¹⁵ See already Poblome *et al.* 2001, 144.
- ¹⁶ Jones 1945. - Her identification with lead-glazed ware has, until now, been accepted: Hans 1987; Maccabruni 1987, 167-189; Hochuli-Gysel 1977, 107.
- ¹⁷ On eastern sigillata, see: Hayes 2001, 145-160; Malfitana 2003, 47-68; 285-295. Particularly in this context, see Malfitana 2002.
- ¹⁸ Wells 1990, 4.
- ¹⁹ Hayes 1985.
- ²⁰ For ESA along the Adriatic coast: Brecciaroli Taborelli *et al.* 1996/97, 187. For the Apulian area, see: Laudizi/Marangio 1998; Zaccaria 2001. For the provenience from the central Italy (Picenum) and northern Adriatic area (Venetia et Histria), we are grateful to Federico Biondani and Paola Maggi for having supplied information from these areas, and for unpublished data from Trieste.
- ²¹ We would thank Francesco D'Andria (Lecce) and colleagues Rino D'Andria and Carlo De Mitri for putting at our disposal unpublished quantified ESA-data from a selection of Brindisi contexts (Atrio Cattedrale and via Santa Chiara). - For the Apulian area, see: Giardino 1978, 121; D'Andria 1980, 79-88; Semeraro 1992, 29-31; Small 1992, 160; Yntema 1995, 400-401, notes 54-55; Boersma 1995, 265-293, fig. 149; D'Andria 1997.
- ²² Guzzo 1970.
- ²³ *Meligunis Lipára* IX. These scholars point out that in the case of the island of Lipari eastern and mainly Aegean products start to arrive in a sustained way from the first half of the second century BC onwards, including stamped Rhodian and Koan amphorae. See also, *ibid.*, L. Campagna, 381-407; *Meligunis Lipára* X, 319-320; A small quantity of ESA was published by Bacci/Tigano 2001; *ibid.*, C. Bonanno, 207 no. VCT/16.
- ²⁴ Stone 1982; 1983, 11-22; 1987, 85-103.
- ²⁵ The Regional Archaeological Museum at Syracuse holds some ESA-finds. New data will be available upon the opening of the second floor of the Museum dedicated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. There are also useful data from the excavation in a rural installation along the southern coast of Sicily, near Agrigento: Wilson 1985, 11-35.
- ²⁶ Hedinger 1999, 164.
- ²⁷ See also: Belvedere *et al.* 1993; Mandruzzato 1997, 1059-1070.
- ²⁸ See also: Aylwin Cotton 1979.
- ²⁹ Pucci 1977, 19-21. In Pompeii ca. 210 examples are documented. Arthur 1991; 1994.
- ³⁰ Soricelli *et al.* 1983/4, 245-285.
- ³¹ Both forms are most common for the first century BC and they were registered in almost all contemporary contexts, supporting the notion these formed part of a 'service'.
- ³² For an analysis of socio-economic aspects of the port of Puteoli, see: D'Arms 1974, 104-124; Zevi 1979.
- ³³ On the role of the Syrian town and on the relationship with Delos, see: Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1997, 617-666. On general aspects of the economic activity of wealthy families, see Andreau 2001.
- ³⁴ Eastern presence in the West and the creation of stations became more general after 69 BC. The emporic role of Puteoli emerges immediately after the Hannibalic war and mainly from 215-214 BC onwards. After the Syracusan defection in 214-211 BC, Puteoli became

the place of reference for all commercial transactions from the East. On this aspect, see: Sosin 1999, 275-284. Always interesting remains the well-known inscription for L. Calpurnius Capitolinus at Puteoli in the first years of the first century AD, by the *Mercatores qui Alexandriae, Asiae, Syriae negotiantur* (CIL X 1797). See: Hatzfeld 1919, 175; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2002, 26, note 19. L. Calpurnius, of the family of the Calpurnii, was called Capitolinus in recognition of building the temple of the town (CIL X 1613).

- ³⁵ Pucci 1977 already underlined the lack of eastern material at Ostia. - For Ostia, see esp. *Ostia I; Ostia II*.
- ³⁶ Besutti 1985, 84-85; Menchelli/Pasquinucci 2000, 371-378; 1999, 122-141. Interesting, also, the Pozzino shipwreck, in the area of Baratti (Populonia) and that of Spargi (Maddalena island, northern Sardinia). In the first wreck (Bertone 1988, 225-233; Parker 1992, 409-411; Firmati/Romualdi 184-192) generally dated around 140-120 BC, Campana A ware and Dressel 1 amphorae were found, along with, above all, glass cups of Syro-Palestinian origin, mould-made bowls, West slope ware and some Rhodian amphorae. The Spargi ship (Pallares 1979, 168-174; Parker 1992, 409-411; Beltrame 1998, 38-45) contained besides western products (Dressel 1a-b amphorae, black-glaze ware from the Tyrrhenian, Latium and Campanian areas), a good quantity of eastern wares with mould-made bowls and a good number (about 60 fragments) of vessels in ESA.
- ³⁷ On this production, see Medri 1992.
- ³⁸ Laumonier 1977, 129-213.
- ³⁹ Rogl 2001, 99-111.
- ⁴⁰ Bats 1979, 164; Guldager Bilde 1993, 192-209.
- ⁴¹ For negotiatores synonymous with ναύκληροι, see: De Salvo 1992. This scholar (*ibid.*, 19) underlines that in the Republican period the words negotiatores and mercatores have the following semantic differentiation: 'indicando il primo un commerciante più modesto, il secondo non solo un grosso commerciante, ma, più in generale, un ricco uomo d'affari; a poco a poco però (a partire almeno dalla seconda metà del I sec. d. C.) essi tendono a diventare sinonimi e ad essere usati indifferentemente.' - Aspects of the role of negotiatores have been discussed by Baldacci 1967, 273-291; D'Arms 1981, 24-25; Kneissel 1983, 73-90. Besides: Aubert 1994, 16-17: 'Institor designates a merchant, a retailer, or a peddler. It is sometimes synonymous with negotiator, mercator and the likes, although it ordinarily refers to a lower social stratum'; esp. 135, 212; Colavitti 1999, 21.
- ⁴² On the political and juridical role of these agents, well represented in the sources (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.59.154 'Mercatores, homines locupletes et honesti'), see: Cassola 1970-1971, 317. The phenomenon of circulation of the negotiatores has also been connected to issues of emigration: Wilson 1966. See also the suggestions by Giardina 1994, 1-89.
- ⁴³ On the phenomenon of circulation of the Delos families in the first century BC Mediterranean, see Rauh 1993. See also the review of Rauh 1993 by M.-F. Boussac/J.-C. Moretti. *Topoi* 5 (1995) 561-572.
- ⁴⁴ Karwiese 1995.
- ⁴⁵ For the late Hellenistic and Roman pottery from Morgantina, cf. supra, note 24.
- ⁴⁶ M. Crawford, *intervento*, in Giardina/Schiavone 1981, 276.
- ⁴⁷ Cic., *Verr.* 2.5.56.146: 'Quicumque accesserant ad Siciliam paulo pleniore, eso Sertorianos milites esse atque a Dianio fugere dicebat. Illi ad deprecandum periculum

proferebant alii purpuram Tyriam, tus alii atque odores vestemque linteam, gemmas alii et margaritas, vina non nulli Greca venalisque Asiaticos, ut intellegeretur ex mercibus quibus ex locis navigarent. Non providerant eas ipsas sibi causas esse pericoli, quibus argumentis se ad salutem uti arbitrabantur. Iste enim haec eos ex piratarum societate adeptos esse dicebat; ipsos in lautumias abduci imperabat, navis eorum atque onera diligenter adservanda curabat.'

- ⁴⁸ On the commerce of perfumes, see: Avanzino 1997; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2002, 24.
- ⁴⁹ Musti 1981, 243-265.
- ⁵⁰ Aubert 1994.
- ⁵¹ Aubert 1999, 145-164; Aubert 1994, 6: 'Institor is an agent appointed to the head of a shop or whatever place to conduct business'; '...institores could engage in various activities, such as hiring or renting commodities, facilities, or services, or acting as guarantors.'
- ⁵² Sfameni Gasparro 1973, *passim*. Of great interest is the evaluation of the names of the people on Delos practising, e.g., the cult of the goddess Syria. They originated from Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine (Arados, Damas, Seleukeia, Ascalon, etc.), Asia minor (Miletos, Ephesos, Knidos, Nikaea), Egypt (Alexandria) and from southern Italy as well (Naples and Heraclea). - The importation of eastern cults in the West was a complex phenomenon, partly a result of Italians worshipping these divinities while circulating in the East. For this aspect, see: *Alla ricerca di Iside*, 5-168.
- ⁵³ Noy 2000a; and also, Noy 2000b, 15-30. This scholar, studying the onomastics and the activity of the foreigners in the West, distinguished three groups: a first group (A) that includes people arriving in Rome for military purposes. Usually, they originated from Britain via Germany and Thracia; a second group (B) includes groups of civil immigrants from Asia, Gallia and Spain; a third group, finally, includes civil immigrants from the southern and eastern territories of the Mediterranean and from Asia minor. - On the relationships Rome-Syria, see: Sartre 2001b, *passim*.
- ⁵⁴ Musti 1980, 197-215.
- ⁵⁵ On the Hellenistic economies, see: Archibald 2001.
- ⁵⁶ For a clear picture of the economic life in the Neapolitan hinterland (Pompeii and Puteoli), see: Lepore 1952, 36-50.
- ⁵⁷ Hatzfeld 1919, *passim*.
- ⁵⁸ On this aspect of the research, see esp.: Hatzfeld 1919; Musti 1980, 197-215; Fraschetti 1981, 51-77; Rauh 1993, 47-52; Vandermersch 1994, 162-163. Very useful is: R. Étienne, Introduction, in *Les Italiens dans le monde grec* 1-8 (with rich bibliography).
- ⁵⁹ On this topic: Morel 1996, 147-172.
- ⁶⁰ On the relation between Velia and the eastern part of the Mediterranean, see: Leiwo 1985, 494-499.
- ⁶¹ See the list in: Ferrary *et al.* 2002, 236-239. Altogether 91 individuals, with 2 from Ancona, 1 from Canusium, 13 from Heraclea Lucana, 2 from Locri, 2 from Metaponto, 19 from Naples, 1 from Petelia, 21 from Taranto, 2 from Ugento, 18 from Velia, and 10 undetermined.
- ⁶² Mancinetti Santamaria 1983, 125-136.
- ⁶³ On these agents, see: Camodeca 2000, 281-288. At Puteoli, a pagus Tyrianus with Syro-Palestinian members is attested by a yet unpublished early imperial inscription, along with many navicularii and mercatores from Cilicia, be it Corycus or Mopsuestia.
- ⁶⁴ Roussel 1934, 32-74; Manganaro 1958, 289-296; Mancinetti Santamaria 1983, 133-134.
- ⁶⁵ For aspects of the circulation of Italians in the East,

- apart from Delos, see: *Les Italiens dans le monde grec*, with various useful contributions, and also an updated list of the Italic on Delos by Ferrary *et al.* 2002; Ferrary 2001, 93-106; Millar 2001, 1-11.
- ⁶⁶ Hatzfeld 1919; Ferrary *et al.*, 2002, 238, Musti 1980, *passim*; Morel 1996, 155.
- ⁶⁷ Tchernia 1986, 66-74.
- ⁶⁸ Hatzfeld 1919.
- ⁶⁹ The name of Trebius Losius can possibly be associated with stamps on Graeco-Italic amphorae: TR. LOISIO, see Will 1997, esp. 122-123; Lund 2000, 77-99.
- ⁷⁰ Vandermerch 1994, 163-164.
- ⁷¹ On C. Vestorius, see: Sirago 1977, 50-61; 1979, 3-16. Fundamental work on this banker by Andreau 1983.
- ⁷² The latter work constitutes an updated re-examination of the topic. See also: Hatzfeld 1912, 1-208; Solin 1982, 101-117; Tréheux 1992; Baslez 1996, 215-224.
- ⁷³ Mancinetti Santamaria 1982, 77-89; Rauh 1993, 14-15; 52; 93; 200; 298-299.
- ⁷⁴ Inscriptions de Délos 1534; 1755 I.5; 1927 I.11; Mancinetti Santamaria 1983, 127.
- ⁷⁵ Inscriptions de Délos 1689; 1854; 2234 I.9-10; 2253-2254; 2288; Mancinetti Santamaria 1983, 128; Rauh 1993, 299.
- ⁷⁶ Hannestad 1983, 85-86.
- ⁷⁷ Grose 1989, 193-197.
- ⁷⁸ Empereur/Picon 1989, 237.
- ⁷⁹ Lund (2005).
- ⁸⁰ Hayes 1991.
- ⁸¹ Jones 1950, 149-296.
- ⁸² Waagé 1948.
- ⁸³ Vanderhoeven 1989.
- ⁸⁴ Christensen/Johansen 1971; Lund 1995, 135-161.
- ⁸⁵ Slane 1997, 247-406.
- ⁸⁶ Lund 2002, 185-223.
- ⁸⁷ Meyer-Schlichtmann 1988.
- ⁸⁸ In the context of Roman influence on the Athenian ceramic assemblage, see: Rotroff 1997, 98.
- ⁸⁹ Bruneau *et al.* 1996; Rauh 1993.
- ⁹⁰ In general, Delos imported wares mainly from Asia Minor and much less Athenian or even western products. Rather surprisingly only a few detailed studies of pottery assemblages excavated at Delos are available yet: Bruneau 1970, 239-262; Peignard 1997, 308-234.
- ⁹¹ Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000, 293-333.
- ⁹² Strong 1966.
- ⁹³ Roth-Rubi 1984, 175-193.
- ⁹⁴ Poblome *et al.* 2000, 279-283.
- ⁹⁵ On the concept of Romanization, see: MacMullen 2000; Woolf 1994, 116-143; Alcock 1993; 1997; 2001, 323-350; Mattingly 1997; Hoff-Rotroff 1997; Ostfeld 2002; Savino 2002, 13-46.
- ⁹⁶ For other case-studies, see: Sinopoli 1991.
- ⁹⁷ Renfrew-Cherry 1986.
- ⁹⁸ Appadurai 1986; Miller 1987; Schiffer 1999. Such patterns have only recently been demonstrated for antiquity: Lund 1999, 1-22; Meadows 1999, 101-120; Vroom 2000, 199-216; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000, see note 91.
- ⁹⁹ Slane 1997, 273-274.
- ¹⁰⁰ Temin 2001, 169-181.
- ¹⁰¹ Poblome/Brulet (in press).
- ¹⁰² Horden-Purcell 2000, 342-344.
- ¹⁰³ See for instance: Rotroff 1994, 133-151; Peignard 1997, see note 90; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000, see note 90.
- ¹⁰⁴ Paterson 1998, 165.

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Baubò a Gela

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Abstract

A female statuette of the mid 5th century BC from the Gela Acropolis, shown in the impressive gesture of anasyrma, can easily be identified as a representation of Baubò, the old woman who made Demeter laugh when just arrived in Eleusis in mourning. It is the oldest known representation of the daimon and also the most true to the account of the myth. It adds important new evidence to the already rich documentation about the cult of Demeter at Gela, and adds an Eleusinian touch, because of Baubò's close links with Eleusis.

Tra le innumerevoli statuette femminili ritrovate a Gela, l'esemplare di pieno V secolo a.C. dagli scavi sull'acropoli del 1961, qui riproposto, spicca per la singolarità ed eccezionalità del tipo. La marcata caratterizzazione permette di considerarlo almeno per il momento unico, senza riscontri né a Gela né altrove nel mondo greco. Facilmente distinguibile dalle figurazioni di divinità e offerenti, che nel corso del secolo popolano i santuari della colonia, la statuette restituisce la prima immagine, la più antica, ancorché inconfondibile di Baubò. C'è da aggiungere e premettere che sotto l'aspetto iconografico è una novità. Non condivide alcun tratto con le più tarde ed incongrue statuette del demone, tra le quali notoriamente primeggiano quelle da Priene del IV secolo a.C.¹ Pur tuttavia la sua identificazione² non offre difficoltà, bensì è immediata, benché sfuggita alle precedenti esegesi del pezzo.³ Nell'estesa, anche per i molti aspetti antropologici, letteratura su Baubò fondamentali rimangono gli studi di G. Devereux e di M. Olender.⁴

La sonorità del nome assimila Baubò allo stuolo delle figure di spauracchi femminili quali *Lamò*, *Mormò* o la più famosa *Gorgò* che abitarono l'immaginario infantile della Grecia antica e alle quali E. Pellizer ha dedicato un bel articolo.⁵ Non è che uno degli aspetti del demone. I due significati del nome - cavità [*koilai*] (Hesych. s.v.) e fallo in cuoio (Herondas 6.33) - attinenti in entrambi i casi alla sfera sessuale femminile, ben introducono all'identità del personaggio. A caratterizzarlo sono principalmente tratti di sconnessione derivanti dalla sua età avanzata e ancor più da un gesto che compie, un atto di esibizione genitale (*anasyrma*). Ora è moglie di Disaule, ora nutrice della dea, o schiava, ovvero regina e altrove menade, ed ancora mostro notturno.⁶ Non completamente sovrapponibile per funzione a *Iambe* (Hom., *Hymn.* 2.195-205), è una figura importante

del mito di Eleusis. Riveste un ruolo di rilievo nei Misteri, ma anche nei riti tesmoforici.⁷ Qui mi soffermo brevemente sul racconto del mito, cui la nostra statuette più d'ogni altra raffigurazione di Baubò sinora conosciuta, si attiene con straordinaria fedeltà. Nel racconto di Clemente Alessandrino (*Protrept.* 2.1-21.2) Baubò avrebbe accolto Demetra affranta, giunta nel suo errare alla ricerca della figlia ad Eleusis. Costernata dal rifiuto della dea di accettare di bere il *kykeon*, ella avrebbe sollevato le vesti, scoprendo le sue parti intime. Tale spettacolo provoca il riso della dea che accetta di bere, inaspettatamente interrompendo il suo lutto.⁸

L'atto di *anasyrma* è perfettamente raffigurato nella statuette di Gela. Riportata al Museo di Gela nell'inventario al numero 13859, è spezzata inferiormente, mancante di breve tratto delle gambe, dei piedi e della base, con un'altezza conservata di cm 16.5. La testa, con evidenti tracce di combustione secondaria, è stata reintegrata al busto. Ricavata da un'unica matrice, presenta il retro piatto e liscio. La testa piena risulta modellata separatamente. La qualità dell'argilla, ben depurata con sottili inclusi sabbiosi, di color rosa-arancio, con bagno di argilla tendente al giallastro in superficie, ne assicura la produzione ad officina di Gela, sebbene non sembrino al momento esistere repliche del tipo.

La figura femminile in piedi indossa un ampio e lungo chitone con maniche, a fitte pieghe ondulate che solleva con entrambe le mani al di sopra del ventre un po' prominente, lasciando scoperte e ben in mostra gambe e sesso (vulva), definito quest'ultimo con precisione. La curva del corpo dolcemente inarcato e proteso in avanti, le gambe unite, solo lievemente piegate accompagnano ed esaltano il gesto, togliendo alla figura ogni staticità per conferirle un ritmo di danza, una grazia sorprendente per il soggetto rappresentato.

Il ventre pronunziato, come i seni cascanti e penduli che si disegnano sotto le vesti sono indicazioni eloquenti della non più giovane età della donna. Sono elementi di senilità la pesante struttura quadrangolare del volto gonfio, come le lunghe e profonde rughe attorno alla bocca piccola e deformata, e soprattutto la capigliatura, una corta zazzera che ricade sulla fronte, lasciando scoperte la nuca e le orecchie. E' noto che tali zazzere convenzionalmente connotano nella pittura vascolare attica della metà del V a.C. sia le figurazioni femminili di stato servile, schiave o cortigiane, sia le donne anziane, le vecchie che hanno perduto ogni avvenenza e femminilità.⁹ La rasatura dei capelli ben si confà a Baubò sia essa nutrice di Demetra o schiava straniera, comunque incontestabilmente vecchia. Offre un confronto pertinente e appropriato la figura di vecchia che ricomponne il corpo della defunta su di una *loutrophoros* attica a figure rosse del Museo Nazionale di Atene del Pittore di Bologna 228.¹⁰

Il tipo di abbigliamento, chitone a fitte pieghe, liscio e appiattito nella scollatura, è popolare a Gela nelle statuette fabbricate tra il 470-450 a.C., in particolare contraddistinguendo un tipo di figura femminile stante con porcellino, attestato da numerose repliche sia nella variante con porcellino tenuto nella mano destra abbassata, sia in quella con porcellino orizzontale sotto il petto.¹¹

A questa considerazione di carattere generale occorre aggiungere i dati del contesto di ritrovamento, dei quali infinitamente ringrazio P. Orlandini. La statuetta è scoperta in un vano (ambiente 17B) ricadente sul versante settentrionale dell'acropoli, non lontano dalla linea delle fortificazioni, in un'area non distante dall'attuale edificio del Museo, quasi coincidente con il sacello XII scavato successivamente da G. Fiorentini. Fu trovata nello strato di bruciato relativo alla distruzione cartaginese del 405 a.C., accanto ad una statuette femminile seduta di Atena. L'elmo con resti dell'alto *lophos*, e il *gorgoneion*, plasmato a parte e giustapposto sul petto, non lasciano dubbi circa la sua identità.¹² Figure fittili delle dee Atena e Demetra sono meno chiaramente associate nel sacello XII, il cui contesto sotto l'aspetto cronologico appare di più difficile definizione.¹³

Il forte *terminus ante quem* della distruzione cartaginese assicura una datazione al V secolo a.C. alla statuette di Baubò che in tal modo rappresenta la più antica figurazione del demone sinora nota, ed aggiungerei, contemporanea di Empedocle, a cui si deve la preziosa indicazione già citata sul significato del nome tramandato da Esichio. E ciò acquista maggiore importanza trat-



Fig. 1. Statuette di Baubò (460-450 a.C.).
Museo Archeologico di Gela.

tandosi di un ritrovamento da Gela. Pone qualche problema, invece, l'associazione tra la nostra statuette e quella di Atena: quali i legami tra Baubò ed Atena: l'una inseparabile compagna di Demetra, l'altra divinità poliade della colonia sin dalle sue origini?¹⁴ Sull'importanza e l'altrettanta antichità del culto di Demetra a Gela le scoperte archeologiche sono eloquenti, e più d'ogni altra quella del *thesmophorion* di Bitalemi.¹⁵ La statuette è una indicazione chiara dello svolgimento di cerimonie di culto in onore della dea sull'acropoli. Più difficile precisare se si tratti di un culto misterico. Gli *hierà* della dea trasportati da Telines da Telos, la carica sacerdotale che i Dinomedi detenevano per discendenza¹⁶ sono elementi che definiscono la rilevanza politica del culto della dea a Gela, a questa la statuette di Baubò aggiunge un tocco eleusinio.

NOTE

- ¹ LIMC III. 1 s.v. *Baubo*, 88-89 (T. Karaghiorga-Stathacopoulou).
- ² Per parte mia, in maniera speciale ringrazio del fulminante quanto generoso suggerimento N. Stampolidis.
- ³ Orlandini 1961, 140-141, tav. XIV, fig. 6; Panvini 1998, 55, no. I.63.
- ⁴ Devereux 1981; Olender 1985.
- ⁵ Pelizza 1998, 1-19.
- ⁶ Olender 1985, 9.
- ⁷ Olender 1985, 13-29; Clinton 1992, 30, 98.
- ⁸ Olender 1985, 16.
- ⁹ Sull'acconciatura a zazzera come indice di condizione servile: Himmelmann 1971, 16. Sull'immagine della donna anziana nell'arte greca: Pfisterer-Haas 1988 (con particolare riferimento a Baubò pp. 72-73).
- ¹⁰ Atene, Museo Nazionale 1170; Beazley, *ARV²* 512, 13.
- ¹¹ Sguaitamatti 1984, 103-106, tav. 13, fig. 48 (T 24 dal primo quarto del V sec. a.C.); 131-132, tav. 22, fig. 76 (T 40, secondo quarto del V sec. a.C.); 133-134, tav. 21, fig. 74 (T. 41, inizi del terzo quarto del V sec.).
- ¹² Orlandini 1961, 140-141, tav. XIV, fig. 5; Orlandini 1968, 26, fig. 4. Sul tipo in generale v. Dewailly 1992, 100.
- ¹³ Fiorentini 1977, 110-112, fig. 8, tavv. XXVII.3, XXVIII.1.
- ¹⁴ Dunbabin 1948, 178.
- ¹⁵ Orlandini 1968, 38-42.
- ¹⁶ Dunbabin 1948, 64-66; Luraghi 1994, 120-124, dove si propone di leggere l'episodio di Teline attraverso le lenti della propaganda dinomeneide.

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- * Mentre questo era in stampa è uscito l'articolo che non ho potuto consultare di C. Masseria, 'Una piccola storia di insolita devozione. Baubo a Gelá', in *Ostraka* XII, 2, 2003 (2004), 177-195.

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Reviews

CATHERINE MORGAN, *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary* (Isthmia, Vol. VIII). Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1999; 526 pp., 74 pls, 6 tables, 6 plans; 31 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-938-3.

Isthmia with its sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth is located on the strip of land fastening the Peloponnesus to the mainland of Greece, to Boeotia and Attica. In the Classical period, it was the major shrine of the Corinthians outside their city and it was one of the four pan-Hellenic sanctuaries where Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean came to compete and celebrate during the Isthmian Festival, held every two years. *Isthmia* 8, the latest addition to the *Isthmia* volumes of the excavations by the University of Chicago is a welcome supplement to previous volumes, which included studies on the architecture and on specific groups of artefacts such as the terracotta lamps and the metal objects. *Isthmia* 8 presents in expert detail the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age material of the excavations from 1952 to 1989 directed by Broneer, Clement and Gebhard. It therefore examines the available evidence on the origin of the settlement and sanctuary, the foundation on which this important shrine emerged. As a site it existed till the 3rd century AD while its origin remains elusive. However the title of *Isthmia* 8 in which a clear distinction is made between the Late Bronze Age (LBA) settlement and the Early Iron Age (EIA) sanctuary, leave no doubt to the authors intention.

Isthmia 8 is divided into three main sections. Part I of approximately 230 pages contains the material evidence, the pottery, the metal artefacts and the figurines. It also discusses the LBA activity in the vicinity of the Temenos as well as the location of the EIA activities. Part II analyses in almost 120 pages, the LBA and EIA pottery as well as the nature of the activities at Isthmia. Part III gives in about 90 pages an interpretation of Isthmia and the LBA Corinthia, of the development of the Isthmian sanctuary from ca. 1050 to 800 BC and of the 8th century BC. Part III is followed by a brief summary and 4 appendices including one on the distribution of the figurines and metals most of which derive from disturbed contexts such as the debris from the post-archaic temple fire. A useful general index gives the cross-references to topics such as the Neolithic and Middle-Helladic pottery assemblages or the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi.

A topic that requires a closer look is the distribution of the published LBA and EIA artefacts recovered at the site and the interpretation of the activities. Hardly any of the finds derive from closed contexts pertaining to LBA or EIA strata though Morgan found a strong concentration of EIA shards in the East Temenos in association with ash and burnt animal bones indicating that sacrifices were made from onwards this period.

Late Bronze Age activity in the vicinity of the Temenos is attested by 619 Mycenaean shards of which none was found in situ. Concentrations of Mycenaean

shards were found in the Northwest and East Temenos as well as in the Theatre area. According to Morgan these and other scatters indicate that the area from the West Cemetery to the coast was occupied quite densely during the LBA. Sections of the 'Mycenaean wall' to the south of the temple are the only traces of architecture relating to this period. She notes the lack of strong spatial concentration of LBA activity while its remains do not indicate a specific function. For the reader it is difficult to assess the extent of the LBA activity at Isthmia. After careful examination of the evidence, Morgan's assessment varies from quite densely settled (p. 305) to a small site (p. 432).

Also much of the EIA evidence derives from secondary deposits. Thousands of EIA shards have been recovered at Isthmia of which 438 (less than 5% of the total amount of EIA shards) are assigned to contemporaneous levels located on East Terrace 1 (see Appendix 3, which presents the distribution of the EIA pottery). Evidence from East Terrace 1 indicates that this pre-existing stratum came to be filled with a mixture of burnt bone, three fragments of terracotta bull figurines and pottery dating back to the Protogeometric period. It must however be recorded that this deposit contained 28 fragments of Mycenaean shards, which in my opinion could indicate LBA-EIA cult continuity since this stratum definitely demonstrates the existence of rituals during the EIA. The useful catalogue of deposits also lists other features at Isthmia with both Mycenaean and EIA pottery (p. 213-221). Noteworthy is a deposit formed during the Archaic period containing 1809 EIA shards on East Terrace 3 where also other dumps containing many EIA shards were found (Appendix 3). Morgan identified for the EIA a hierarchy of dispositions with high concentrations of material during the 8th century BC as well as strata with EIA material formed in later times from locally disposed material. The EIA focus of activity must have been around the Southeast Temenos. The quantity and concentration of EIA material in this area is not matched by the LBA artefacts. This is essentially the main difference between the two periods as well as the main argument for differentiating between settlement and sanctuary. An additional argument is the concentration of EIA dining activities in this area. However in relation to ritual dinners, Morgan can be quoted after she dismissed the possibility that the LBA pottery derives from destroyed or looted tombs: 'During the LBA, as in later times, there is a close link between the vessel forms found in settlement and sanctuary contexts, which is readily understandable in view of the similarities in functions performed, especially food preparation and consumption' (p. 306). Though I agree with the author that the evidence published in *Isthmia* 8, definitely demonstrates the existence of an EIA cult, I can not dismiss the possibility of a LBA shrine near the 7th century BC temple site. First it is necessary to fully acknowledge that most of the evidence at Isthmia was found on a plateau that hardly left any traces of LBA nor EIA activities in situ. Moreover it is not surprising

that the EIA material taken till the 700 BC outnumbers the LBA artefacts since it is in line with evidence for a general increase in scale during this period. Moreover the LBA artefacts will have been displaced over a longer period of time and thus are likely to be dishevelled more than the EIA artefacts. Since the LBA evidence at Isthmia is lacking context, it is neither clear what happened to eventual bones, ashes or other stylistically un-datable materials that originally might have been associated with the LBA ceramics. Furthermore, Morgan's assessment that this region of approximately a square kilometre was quite densely settled during the LBA, might be correct. It would then seem likely that the community living here also maintained a shrine. A possible location for a LBA shrine is the site where a sanctuary was definitely established during the EIA. In addition I would like to stress that this *Isthmia* volume presents 38 fragments of figurines of which 7 are assigned to the LBA (ago, Psi and Phi figurines). Four of the LBA figurines are recovered at the East Temenos. These figurines whether they derive from settlements, graves or sanctuaries, signify cult activities. However, Morgan does not consider the LBA figurines at Isthmia characteristic enough for a sanctuary. All vague notions available for possible cult continuity from the Bronze into the Iron Age at Isthmia are consistently allocated to a settlement function while in my opinion the evidence is just too inconclusive to dismiss the possibility of a LBA shrine near the sanctuary of Poseidon.

In spite of these reflections on the interpretation of the LBA activities taking place at Isthmia, I would like to conclude that *Isthmia* 8 is a rich and masterly publication as so many other studies by Morgan. The period discussed covers almost 9 centuries and includes the puzzling transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, a period conventionally referred to as a Dark Age. *Isthmia* 8 presents in great detail one of the few sites with continuity in activities from the Bronze Age into the Archaic period though it remains inconclusive to what extent there was continuity in function as well. It deserves reading by all interested in the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age in Greece. It presents thoroughly a rare unbroken sequence of Corinthian wares from the earliest Protogeometric into the Archaic period. The analysis of the evidence is of a very high standard and touches lucidly on fundamental topics such as the nature of cult activities and the absolute chronology with low and high chronologies. For all these reasons the book is highly recommended.

A.J. Nijboer

W. JOHANNOWSKY, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*. Volume II. (Monografie della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente XVI), Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2002. 120 pp., 65 plates. – ISBN 960-87405-0-9.

Starting from the history of its publication, this is a somewhat odd book. It is the second and apparently final volume of the reports of an excavation by Doro Levi in 1954-1956, appearing 34 years (!) after the first

volume. Furthermore, the published text appears to be a revised compilation of Johannowsky's original typescript and manuscript, put together by a group of younger scholars. It remains unclear how old the original texts are, and to what extent they have been edited and updated. In the notes, some essentials of the 1980s, like Amyx and Neeft's works on Corinthian pottery, are missing, although part of the bibliography continues into the late 1990s. It is quite obvious that this is not a properly structured and finished book, but simply the best that could be made under the circumstances. On the positive side, we now at least have an extensive report of the finds of an old excavation, which otherwise would have disappeared in the deposit, as many others of their kind. The Italian School of Athens should be praised for the considerable efforts it invested in publishing this report.

Although certainly not perfectly finished and organized in its details, the general structure of the book is clear enough. After an extremely short introduction to the excavation of the sanctuary area and the technical and formal characteristics of its pottery comes the first part of the catalogue, covering the Geometric and Orientalizing periods. This is followed by a long chapter on the chronological problems regarding Cretan pottery in the Geometrical and Orientalizing periods. Then comes the short second part of the catalogue, on the pottery of the 6th-3rd centuries BC. Finally, the conclusions offer a general synthesis of the results of this study, focusing on the chronology of the sanctuary and its place in the development of Gortyn, which is compared to that of other Cretan poleis and the more general development of Crete during the Early Iron Age.

The catalogue offers just what can be expected in a fairly traditional work like this: extensive descriptions of more elaborately decorated objects, short or very short texts on simpler items. The lists are organized by material (pottery, metals) and shape; the entries of the more important categories are preceded by general introductions, focusing on stylistic developments. Very little is said about the use and possible meanings of categories of objects or individual items, and nothing is mentioned about specific find contexts. As the material comes from an old excavation and many catalogued items have a provisional inventory number or none at all, spatial or contextual studies will probably remain impossible.

Although the catalogue is extensive - it arrives at 642 numbers - its potential for find statistics is also problematic, not only because, as usual, there is no clue of the proportion of actual finds included, but also because numbering is not systematic. Large groups of similar objects are often listed under single numbers (e.g. as no. 296a, 296b, even 297Ac and 297Ad etc.). In some cases, it is not clear why items are placed in one category in stead of another, and one group, the ceramic 'votive shields' is unclear by itself, as it seems to include actual miniature shields, libation vessels better labeled as phialai and some possible lids. In a book which is mainly about style and chronology such distinctions may not be very relevant, but they do complicate a different use of the material.

The two synthetic chapters on the chronology of Cretan pottery and the history of the sanctuary suffer from a similar paradox. Both are very thorough art his-

torical studies, masterpieces of scholarship of their kind. Stylistic and typological developments of the finds from the sanctuary and Gortyn are connected to those of materials from all over Crete, and similarities and differences are noted in order to reconstruct a general history of Early Iron Age Crete which goes far beyond chronology and style. Few scholars will probably be able to sketch such a broad picture, starting from such a wide range of material. Yet, if one is interested in, e.g., the uses of the described items in the sanctuary and rituals and life in the shrine more generally, this book has very little to offer. Perhaps more importantly, if one wonders how chronology, style and typology explain, even tell, social and political history, there are no answers either. Unfortunately, what seems self-evident to Johannowsky and many other scholars of his generation, is not so anymore. This book is truly a monument of the past.

Vladimir Stissi

CRISTINA CHIARAMONTE TRERÈ (ed.), *Tarquinia, Scavi sistematici nell'abitato. Campagne 1982-1988 materiali 1* (*Tarchna*, 2). Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 1999. 402 pp., 89 Tav.; 31 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-068-5.

Tarquinia, located 6 kilometres from the Tyrrhenian Sea in the valley of the river Marta, is one of the foremost Etruscan centres. It is primarily known on account of its numerous *necropoleis*, as are so many other Etruscan centres. The settlement, which consisted probably of various nuclei during the Iron Age and Orientalizing period (950 to 600 BC) became gradually centred on the *Pian di Civita*, a large plateau of roughly 190 hectare, from onwards the 8th century BC. The University of Milan in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale* excavated approximately 1000 m² in the western part of this plateau from 1982 till 1988. The present book is the second volume on the excavations on the *Civita di Tarquinia* in a series of three. The first volume published in 1997 (*Tarchna* 1), discusses the stratigraphy, the chronology and the individual phases of the site explored from the Late Bronze Age till the Hellenistic period. *Tarchna* 1 also includes an account of the main contexts as well as a reconstruction of the phases of the ceremonial and religious site excavated. The third volume, published in 2001 (*Tarchna* 3), presents the recovered *impasto* pottery from the Protovillanovan to the Orientalizing period, the ceramics made from depurated clays, the imported Greek ceramics and an amazing array of *bucchero* ceramics from the late 8th century till the 5th century BC. Volume 2 will be discussed in detail here. It presents the ceramics covering the period 600 to 150 BC. The three volumes together contain almost 1400 pages text, over 400 plates and cost € 970,-; books published by «L'Erma» di Bretschneider are well produced but have become extremely expensive. It is hardly worthwhile to obtain the volumes individually unless one is only interested in specific groups of ceramics and not in their context. However, the contexts published and interpreted in *Tarchna* 1 belong to the most interesting archaeological finds of the past decades in central Italy.

Tarchna 2 presents in 280 pages text the excavated material itself in the following order: the architectural and figurative terracotta's, *impasto* ceramics from the archaic and Hellenistic period, the ceramics made from depurated clays (the *acroma* group and the *a bande* group), Etrusco-Corinthian pottery, Hellenistic black gloss ceramics and finally the transport amphorae. The discussion on the ceramics is followed by a technological section of 50 pages in which the black gloss ceramics and the *impasto* pottery are investigated using partially advanced scientific methods such as neutron activation analysis and partially detailed macroscopic analyses. Subsequently 70 pages contain tables and indices, which make it relatively easy to correlate individual as well as groups of finds to their archaeological contexts and chronology published in *Tarchna* 1. Finally 89 plates illustrate the majority of the ceramics published. *Tarchna* 2 presents around 1000 artefacts in detail while approximately 3000 finds are listed.

Interesting groups of ceramics presented in *Tarchna* 2 are, amongst others, the *impasto* pottery and the transport amphorae. The *impasto* pottery includes archaic forms but also later *impasto* vessels and thus presents an insight in the continuity of this local ceramic group into the 3rd century BC. Some of the forms derive from Villanovan or Orientalizing predecessors. The most common forms such as specific jars hardly change during the period 600 to 150 BC and are therefore difficult to date exactly by themselves. The contexts in which they were found provide their chronology. The roughly 70 fragments of transport amphorae recovered at the site are another significant group of ceramics. The amphorae derive from Italy itself (Etruscan and Graeco-Italic transport amphorae) but also from other regions of the Mediterranean such as transport amphorae from the Phoenician-Punic world, Marseille, Corinth, Attica, Chios, Clazomenai, Samos and Lesbos. Fragments of 18 transport amphorae could not be assigned to a specific region of origin. The amphorae date from the 7th till the 5th century BC and from the 3rd and 2nd century BC. The archaic transport amphorae recovered in Tarquinia itself can be compared with the amphorae excavated at its nearby harbour for seaborne trade, Gravisca. It seems that the 6th century BC imports from the eastern Mediterranean are better represented at Gravisca itself than at Tarquinia.

Tarchna 2 is highly descriptive, which is necessary for the essential typological studies. Hardly any interpretations are given. However, in combination with *Tarchna* 1, it is possible to examine the contents of individual contexts with the interpretation offered by the excavators. An example is the small and deep Pit 375 dated to the late 6th century BC and covered with a *nenfro* slab. Context 375 is interpreted as a votive pit and illustrated on map 6 of *Tarchna* 1, which presents all the features assigned to the second half of the 6th century BC. Pit 375 lies in the courtyard in one of the religious structures excavated. In *Tarchna* 2 it is possible to reconstruct the contents of this pit. It contained common wares also used outside a ritual context: over 200 fragments of different types of tiles, none of which were decorated, 4 fragments of *bacini* (ceramic basins), 2 fragments of storage jars and 2 bowls. Context 375 probably contains part of the roofs covering the wings

of the courtyard as well as votives. It seems to represent a symbolic deposition of the contents of the ritual courtyard, which became redecorated during the late 6th century BC. For a complete reconstruction of context 375 one needs to combine *Tarchna* 1 page 37, 194, 222, Tavola 142.2, Map 6 with *Tarchna* 2 page 23, 24, 67, 74, 81, 382, Tav. 38.5, 29.10 and 45.16. *Tarchna* 1 and 2 are well cross-referenced but this complicated way to reconstruct individual contexts is common to many excavation publications and based on the predominance of typological research. It might be more useful for an understanding of the meaning of this important excavation to present the contexts assigned to individual phases of this ceremonial complex as was done for the main contexts in *Tarchna* 1 instead of full typologies of individual groups of ceramics.

One of the most famous finds by the excavation team and published in *Tarchna* 1, is the ceremonial deposit consisting of a shield, an axe and a *lituus* (a sort of trumpet), all produced from copper-alloys. The artefacts are exquisitely made and dated around 700 BC. Together with numerous animal bones and ceramic table wares, these copper-alloy artefacts were deposited near the entrance of a complex labelled *edificio beta*, a structure with a *megaron* plan, a sacrificial bench and constructed with building techniques from the Levant. The deposition of these copper-alloy artefacts is related to comparable finds in the *Tombe principesche*. Some of the *principes* were thus involved in ritual acts and a symbolic reading of this context is feasible as was done recently by M. Bonghi Jovino (Funzioni, simboli e potere. I 'Bronzi' del 'Complesso' Tarquiniese, in *Der Orient und Etrurien*, Pisa 2000, 287-298.). She as well as others put forward that the ritual act of deliberately depositing symbols of power as discovered at Tarquinia, represents a new stage in the state formation of central Italy in which the *rex* functioned as a religious, judicial, political and military power besides an elite of *principes/patres*.

Tarchna 2 discussing the ceramics from the period 600 to 150 BC excavated on a site at Tarquinia, is a highly professional publication. It provides parallels for comparable ceramic groups recently excavated and published at sites such as Gravisca, Caere and further south also at *Satricum* (votive deposit II, cf. J. Bouma, *Religio Votiva*, Groningen 1996). In combination with *Tarchna* 1 and *Tarchna* 3 it presents a rich view into a religious complex emerging during the Late Bronze Age. Few individuals will be able to acquire these three volumes on account of their costs but research libraries on the archaeology of central Italy need to order copies.

A.J. Nijboer

LUCA GIULIANI, *Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2003. 366 S. mit 87 Abb., 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-406-50999-1.

Dieses umfangreiche, schön ausgegebene Buch ist der sehr alten Problematik des 'Bildes und Liedes' gewidmet. Es ist ein neuer kunst- und kulturhistorischer Versuch, die Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst darzustellen. Die Analyse betrifft

aber nur Bilder auf griechischen, meist attischen Vasen ab dem 8. bis zum Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und die 'Geburt der Illustration' auf Reliefvasen im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Absicht ist, zu untersuchen, wie antike Mythen nacherzählt und künstlerisch umgesetzt werden. Nach einem Vorwort über die aktuelle Bilderflut und moderne Bildwissenschaft formuliert der Autor in dem methodischen Kapitel 1 die Grundzüge seiner Kontrastdiagnose. Ausgangspunkt für sein Arbeitsverfahren ist G.E. Lessings Traktat *Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766). Eine von Lessings Prämissen ist 'das unterschiedliche Verhältnis von Wort- und Bildkunst zur Zeit'. Sprache bedeutet Sukzessivität, Malerei Simultaneität. Eine andere Prämisse betrifft das (nicht richtige) Axiom, daß das gemalte Bild an die Darstellung eines einzigen Moments gebunden ist. Lessings Meinung nach sollen alle Sachen, die zeitlich aufeinander folgen, Handlungen heißen. Aristoteles definiert *mythos* (Geschichte) in seiner *Poetica* als 'ein Ganzes was Anfang, Mitte und Ende hat'. Auf dieser Piste weiterfahrend unterscheidet der Verfasser zwischen narrativen, erzählenden, meist mythischen und nicht-narrativen, beschreibenden, meist nicht-mythischen Darstellungen. Diese Dichotomie ist der rote Faden seiner Forschungen. Im Kapitel 2 werden Bilder auf attischen Vasen des 8. Jahrhunderts, die Löwenkämpfe, Prozessionen von Kriegerern, ein Seefahrers Abschied, Krieger zur See zeigen, als nicht-mythologisch, das heißt als nicht-narrativ interpretiert. Sie seien deskriptiv, erzählen keine spezifische Geschichte, illustrieren nur das Weltbild von damals, kurz, sie zeigen keine Mythen. Kapitel 3 skizziert das Aufkommen erzählender Bilder im 7. Jahrhundert. Ein schönes Beispiel ist eine böotische Bogenfibel im Britischen Museum, die ein hölzernes Pferd auf Rädern zwischen Vögeln zeigt (S. 79, Abb. 10). Nur wer die Geschichte kennt, wird die Verweisung nach Troja in einem nicht-narrativen Kontext verstehen. Noch faszinierender ist der berühmte Reliefpithos in Mykonos, der auf dem Hals das genannte Räderpferd, jetzt mit Kriegerern, darstellt, der aber auf dem Bauch in zwei Friesen mit Metopen grausame Kriegsszenen wiedergibt, die nicht mittels antiker schriftlicher Quellen identifizierbar sind, sondern im allgemeinen Sinn, also deskriptiv, als Stimmungsbilder nach dem Untergang von Troja verweisen. Im Übrigen des Kapitels werden Vorstellungen der Blendung des Polyphems auf Vasen aus Argos, Etrurien und Eleusis analysiert. Der Verfasser schließt, daß die Bilder von der *Odyssee* abhängig sind. Kapitel 3 heißt 'Das Spiel mit der Schrift im 8., 7. und 6. Jahrhundert.' Im 6. Jahrhundert werden deskriptive Szenen narrativ durch die Addition von Inschriften; Jedermanns Waffen, z.B., werden so Achills Waffen. Leider läßt der Verfasser viele Fragen offen. Zum Beispiel: auf der bekannten korinthischen Chigi-Kanne sieht man unter dem Henkel das Parisurteil mit Inschriften. Die übrigen, anepigraphischen Bilder zeigen Kriegs- und Jagdszenen. Natürlich sind die Inschriften behilflich bei der Interpretation, aber weshalb das mythologische Einschüßel mit allgemeinen Szenen kombiniert ist, wird nicht beantwortet. Auch die Präsenz einer Sirene mit dem Namen *Eous* (S. 121, Abb. 17) in einer Szene, wo Herakles mit Iolaos die Hydra von Lerna bekämpft,

wird nicht erklärt. Wichtig ist, daß einige 'homerische' Bilder, z.B. Menelaos, der mit Hektor um dem gefallenen Euphorbos kämpft (S. 127, Abb. 19), nicht auf die *Ilias* zurückgreifen, aber auf das, was der Verfasser als Neuwort *Oralliteratur* definiert, daß heißt, mündliche Erzählungen. Ganz überzeugend ist diese Schlußfolgerung nicht, weil viele schriftliche Erzählungen verloren gegangen sind. Der Rest des Kapitels betrifft eine neue Analyse einiger Darstellungen auf der François-Vase (Aias mit dem Leichnam Achills, die Hochzeit von Peleus und Thetis, die neun Musen und Theseus' Brautwerbung der Ariadne). Die anepigraphische Darstellung von Pygmäen, die den Kranichen unterliegen, vergleicht der Verfasser mit den namenlosen Matrosen in der Brautwerbungsszene. Ohne aristokratische Helden seien Pygmäen und Matrosen hilflos (S. 138). Die Schwachheit dieser Interpretation ist, daß der Verfasser nicht das totale ikonographische Programm analysiert, wie andere Forscher vor ihm getan haben (z.B.: A. Stewart, in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Wisconsin 1983, 53-74). Im Kapitel 5 kommentiert er 'Strategien zur Steuerung des Betrachters' im 6. und 5. Jh., besonders die Synchronisierung der Bildinhalte. Wiederum kreist die Analyse um Vorstellungen mit der Blendung des Polyphems, weiter um Priamos, der Achill um die Rückgabe Hektors Leichnams bittet, um Odysseus und Kirke, um die Ermordung des Priamos, und um die Organisation mehrszeniger Bilder von Troia's Fall. Zwar folgten die Maler nicht wörtlich Homer oder anderen Autoren, aber sie akzentuierten wohl in hohem Maße die homerische Grausamkeit der Szenen. Z.B. verzehrt Achill, liegend auf einer *Kline*, ein Fleischmahl, nicht in Gesellschaft von Freunden, sondern, ganz asozial, allein, während unter dem Bett Hektors Leiche liegt.... Der Verfasser meint, daß die Zerstörung von Milet im Jahr 494 die Wahl der blutigen Kriegsszenen beeinflusst haben könnte. Im Kapitel 6, mit dem Titel 'Die Bilder im Sog der Texte', versucht Giuliani zu zeigen, daß die mythologischen Szenen im 4. Jh. etwas mehr von literarischen Texten abhängig sind. Nur zwei apulische Krater des 4. Jh. werden behandelt. Seit den Studien von J.-P. Moret wissen wir, daß apulische Maler in großem Ganzen den Inhalt griechischer Tragödien oder Theaterdarstellungen kannten, aber sich bei der Wiedergabe von Szenen eine große künstlerische Freiheit erlaubten. Im Kapitel 7 werden zwei angebliche homerische Reliefbecher (in Berlin) besprochen, die mehrere Szenen aus der *Odyssee*, mit langen Inschriften, darstellen. Der Verfasser datiert diese Trinkgefäße ins 2. Jh., obwohl der Expert U. Sinn sie im 3. Jahrhundert ansetzt. Giuliani meint, die Bilder seien textgetreu und bestimmt für Leser gemacht worden. Wenn man aber alle Reliefbecher studiert, sieht man, daß sie Einzelheiten und Zufügungen zeigen die weder in Homers *Ilias* oder *Odyssee* noch in griechischen Tragödien erwähnt werden. Die Töpfer leisteten sich also dieselbe künstlerische Freiheit wie die Maler apulischer Prachtvasen mit mehrszenigen, tragischen Darstellungen. Im Kapitel 8 und im Anhang (der aufs neue Peleus' Brautwerbung auf der François-Vase und eine Kirke-Schale behandelt) folgen einige Fallstricke und *afterthoughts*.

Giuliani's Buch ist sehr lesbar, einem großen Leserpublikum zugänglich und lesenswert, seine Nacher-

zählungen von Mythen sind glänzend, seine Beobachtungen von Bildern scharf und seine Formulierungen subtil. Das Buch ist jedoch ein ganz persönliches Dokument, das die Meinungen und Vorgehensweisen von anderen, modernen Forschern auf ikonologischem Gebiet in Fußnoten behandelt und zu widerlegen versucht. Klar ist jedenfalls, daß die Vasenmaler zuerst durch orale und später in steigendem Maße durch literarische Quellen beeinflusst wurden. Was die Wahl der Bilder auf sechzig Vasen betrifft, fällt auf, daß überwiegend bekannte und berühmte Szenen behandelt werden. Einige moderne kontextuelle Einfallswinkel fehlen. Dem Totalprogramm von Vasen (Vor- und Rückseite), dem *oeuvre* eines Vasenmalers und dem *output* einer Werkstatt, z.B., wird kaum Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Giuliani demonstriert seine Theorie seriell an Hand von Bildern ohne schließende Abstraktion der Phänomene am Ende eines Kapitels. Anno 2003 würde man, mit allem Respekt für Lessing und Giuliani, ein mehr archäologisches und ikonologisches als lauter kunsthistorisches und ikonographisches Vorgehen erwarten. Die Illustrationen sind ausgezeichneter Qualität. Ein Index fehlt.

L.B. van der Meer

NORBERT KUNISCH, *Makron*, Vol. I and II. Kerameus Band 10, Forschungen zur antiken Keramik - II. Reihe. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997. Vol. I: 259 S., 33 Abb.; 31cm; Vol. II: 176 Abb.; 31cm. - ISBN 3-8053-1890-1

This is a very detailed and thought-provoking study of the painter Makron and a less extensive discussion of his potter Hieron. Because of the bulk of the material the author has restricted his aims and excluded the *Epochenstil*, i.e. the interrelations and mutual influences with Makron's colleagues and his followers (pp. 1 and 4). So we are left to wonder which painters may have been sitting next to Makron at the painting table, for that he cannot have been the only one painting for Hieron seems certain (perhaps the Telephos and Amphitrite Painters, see below, but they seem too young; judging from Beazley's lists one would expect the Clinic Painter). In spite of this severe restriction the reading of this book is a task of some magnitude. It is, therefore, quite impossible to do justice to its wealth in the present review. We must suffice with rather random remarks and sketchy summaries, and apologize beforehand for the insufficiency of this account.

It is a great pleasure to have the whole of Makron's preserved oeuvre at hand and to study all vases and sherds in the countless photos and text figures. Kunisch indicates the vases with their catalogue numbers (e.g., 300 is the famous skyphos in Boston with the story of Helen). The side that borders on the heads in the tondo of a cup is called 'A' and the one that is next to the feet of the inside 'B' (pp. 159-60). He counts the figures from left to right: 'A1, A2' etc. The inside is indicated as 'I'. The photos on the plates are arranged I, A and B (A above B). There are no photographs of a cup standing on a table, or hanging on the wall, nor of a kylix put in a slanting position. This is perhaps a small omission.

The book consists of seven chapters, a catalogue and two indexes.

- Ch. I: Introduction
- Ch. II: the oeuvre: Hieron, Makron, chronology and the phases of Makron's work (early: nos. 1-45; main phase I: 46-295; main phase II: 296-434, and late: 435-532)
- Ch. III: *Bildmaterial*: types of figures, gestures and attitudes, drapery, material objects and decorative motives.
- Ch. IV: *Bildform*: composition of scenes on in- and outside; interconnection of scenes; axes determined by the handles, groups of two and of three figures, the centre of scenes.
- Ch. V: *Bildthemen*: traditional themes; further development of traditional themes; new scenes of daily life, new mythological scenes.
- Ch. VI: *Bildrealität*, the rendering of reality, the limitations of the depiction of reality; myths and reality.
- Ch. VII: Final remarks (*Schluss*).
- Ch. VIII: Catalogue: 604 entries, almost double Beazley's list (p. 3); but no less than 177 numbers are in a private coll. at Centre Island, N.Y. (pp. 233-235).
- IX: Indexes: finding places, themes, objects, museums and collections, concordances with Beazley and Bothmer.
- X: Index of figures and plates.

Volume I contains 158 pp. text, printed in two columns. The text figures are mostly very good photos of details, but also tracings of figures.

Volume II contains countless photos, mostly good ones though the printing is not always satisfactory (e.g., pls. 12, 13, 49, 53, nos 419, 461). The famous masterpieces, the skyphoi in Boston, London and Paris, are cat. nos. 300, 319 and 331; regretfully, the beautiful drawings by Reichholdt are not reproduced (see e.g., Pfuhl, *MuZ*, figs. 435-437) and captions are lacking under a great number of photos of sherds (e.g., on pls. 8-10, 14-19 etc.).

Chapter I: As has been said, the author concentrates on the *Einzelperson* of Makron. His basis are the attributions of Beazley, Bothmer and Robert Guy (but Beazley's nos 132 and 143 are left out; see n. 80). The reason why he came to study Makron and not another painter of the time, was the presence in Bochum of six cups by the painter, among them the great Olympian kylix, 352. K. does not overrate his painter: he calls him a mediocre artist (which is perhaps too severe), but 'one who displays a definitely personal approach to the themes of his time, a draughtsman who aspires at innovation and transformation of existing formulas': compare, e.g., the remarkable progress from 74 to 144 (p. 3-5).

Chapter II: Before we turn to the description of Hieron's and Makron's style and technique, it should be remarked that, surprisingly, there is no comment on the name of Makron. Is it common? Are there social implications involved? Is Makron perhaps an ethnic name (like Lydos, Skythes etc.), referring to the Makrones (a Pontic people, Hdt. 2.104), or is it a nickname meaning 'longhead' (Liddell and Scott), comparable to that of 'broad-shouldered' Aristokles, Platon? I have always

longed to know (on p. 21 K. casually calls Makron a 'möglicherweise unfreien Handwerker').

There are 59 signatures of Hieron (pp. 6-7) and only one by Makron (on the skyphos in Boston, no 300). Two signatures of Hieron are on vases by the Telephos Painter and one on the foot of a kantharos by the Amphitrite Painter (giving his father's name, Medon, but the inscription has been suspected, p. 7). On the early work by Makron there are no signatures (p. 27), but when they appear, different hands can be distinguished. In contrast with some published opinions (also Bothmer's), the painted signatures are earlier than the incised ones (pp. 7 and 19). Hieron's signatures are distinct from the other inscriptions because they are continuous, whereas the words of the other inscriptions are separated, sometimes even by a colon. All vases by Makron were potted by Hieron, but there is one, interesting exception, cat. no. 4 (Palermo V659; p. 10). This cup, an early one in Kunisch's catalogue, is attributed by Bloesch to Euphronios, not to Hieron, which is said to prove that there was a connection between Euphronios and Makron. This, however, depends of the assumption that it is rightly incorporated in Makron's (early) work (pp. 19 and 25-26). Beazley must have felt some doubt, for he writes about this vase and the cups cat. 1 and 10: 'I take them to be early work by Makron' (ARV² 480, 1-3). Bothmer seems not to have accepted them. Nos 1 and 4, at any rate, are unusually original and show a grand composition (see p. 101). The scene on A of no 4 is very exceptional: it is a wild, even unique, Troilos scene, hardly to be expected in Makron's work, especially at so early a date: Achilles has killed the horse under Troilos; it has collapsed on its left flank, its belly towards us, and Troilos is trying to turn round on the back of the animal and to jump off backwards over its rump; his right leg is already on the horse's left side (so we infer) and his left leg is being lifted over its right side, but it is too late: Achilles thrusts his sword into his shoulder, the blood spurting out. This desperate attempt at escape is, I think, well-drawn (*contra* p. 101, n. 412; incidentally, 'Troilos' should be added to the index of Trojan scenes on p. 226).

With the help of splendid section drawings the particular style of Hieron's cups and skyphoi is explained (pp. 8-14). The cups B, which, in respect of their feet, are all 'von einer geradezu erstaunlichen Gleichförmigkeit' (p. 10) and may be divided into 'small' and 'large' (average diam. 28.8 and 33 cm). At the beginning of the second main phase they are almost all large (p. 11), but the small cups are exact copies of the large ones (p. 13); at the end of his career the small cups are nearly the main shape (p. 26). All in all, Hieron had 'strong rational ideas about proportions and was little given to experimentation'. Already in this paragraph which deals with the shape of the vases, we are told that the small cups are decorated with rather monotonous three-figure compositions, but also on the large cups no refinement of the principles of composition can be discovered, the formulas tending more and more towards meaninglessness, though the number of the figures grows steadily (p. 13). Apart from cups and the famous skyphoi Hieron produced very few other shapes. His signatures are found only on the three skyphoi and the larger, more magnificent cups: a sign of artistic pride (p. 17).

In the pages dealing with Makron's technique there is an interesting paragraph on preliminary drawing, which served only to fix the place of the figures; they are sketchy and very different from the precision of the painted figures (figs. 10-11, p. 17). His main characteristic is the steady firmness of his relief lines, which are firmer, more emphatic than of most of his contemporaries (p. 18). In his ripe period these relief lines provide his drapery folds with that luxurious volume that is typical of the painter. Further, there is a 'direct simpleness in his drawing that is visible in almost all details'. K. calls him a draughtsman of great competence (for a somewhat more critical judgement see the end of this review). On the whole, Makron strives after 'quietly flowing narratives' but with '*leibhaftig - lebhaft*' figures (p. 18).

As for dating (pp. 18-21), two of the numerous kalos names (n. 88, Hippodamas and Hiketes) are known from elsewhere and provide a kind of synchronism with Douris (p. 20). In the Brygos tomb and that of the Boston skyphos, the vases by Makron must have been placed as heirlooms (unfortunately, the cat. nos of these vases are not mentioned) and the numerous sherds from the *Perserschutt* (see the index IX) have little chronological significance, since we are told that much '*Schutt*' must have been brought up from the town below, to fill the huge holes for the new foundations on the Acropolis.

Makron was probably born between 520 and 510 and started working at the beginning of the fifth century. Beazley believed that his career ended about 480 (n. 97), but the unusual bulk of the preserved oeuvre (604 vases, p. 21) indicates that Makron worked during a long period, that is, till after the Persian invasions. There are no details in his work that clearly reflect the calamities of the Persian invasions, but certain mythological scenes discussed in *Chapter V* are thought to refer indirectly to these events (see below). The author distinguishes four phases (pp. 21-27), which, however, are not divided in a clear-cut manner. On many vases there is a striking discrepancy between the inside and the outside: late cups such as 509 and 512 have interesting tondos and 'bloodless' scenes on the outside; therefore, it is difficult to give them their proper place in the development, but the rather uninteresting outer scenes are regarded as indicative of a late date. There is much variation in certain details, e.g. facial traits, often on one and the same cup (see the excellent pictures in fig. 12, no 381). A general development is, for example, seen in the pupils which slowly move towards the corner of the eye; the contours of the eyes become less curved and the eyes themselves narrower. Characteristic traits that remain constant are described on p. 24 (the shape of the skull, the rounded chin, the straight nose etc., though nothing about the lips and smiles, see below). There is no consistent and conscious attempt at progress ('*konsequent und bewusst erstrebte Entwicklung*', p. 25). Makron's repertory remains similar throughout, but the number of figures in the scenes increases. 'No vase is exactly alike, everything is simple and yet varying, schematized yet lively, undramatic but never trite' (p. 25).

The *Early Phase* (pp. 25-27) must have been longer than appears from the present catalogue (1-45). If 1, 4

and 10 (which have been mentioned above) are accepted, they show that Makron, as Bothmer says, 'must have undergone a radical change in his principles of composition'. Kunisch analyses these vases carefully on pp. 25-26, but I am not convinced that they belong. On p. 27 he describes the characteristics of the early drawings (nose, hips, beards, drapery - with sharp zigzags - etc.) and the tendency to make figures slenderer and taller - but there is much variation.

In the *Main Phase I* (46-295, pp. 27-32) the development shows itself only little by little. Now there are often two figures in tondos. On 47 appears Hieron's first signature and we also find proper names, both in myths and of (contemporary?) figures (74, 226), and 'kaloi' (p. 28). At first the figures are still slender with small heads (52, 63), but squatter figures occur (66, 73, 262). Zig-zag folds alternate with more rounded folds, the numbers of figures increase, up to even seven (e.g. 295, the cup with the abduction of Helena). Compositions with quiet figures become more prominent; some compositions are good (128), some clumsy (221 which is a very curious cup, see below). Myths become more numerous but still in modest numbers (p. 29). 'Conversations' (with men, boys or hetairai) are introduced; in them the figures on the right and left often look towards the other side of the cup. Ears, eyes, and similar details do not give a clue for the chronological sequence, but the hair contour tends to become smooth (fig. 14, p. 29, note the fine rolls of hair on 356, fig. 19f). There is a wealth of variation in the hair of women (fig. 15 and pp. 30-31); now hair may be fair, and even gray (figs. 12e, 19a-c). Down to the middle of this Phase the himatia of men may have black borders, which subsequently disappear (fig. 17).

In the latter half of *Main Phase I*, Makron adopts the hairy male breast so popular with the Brygos Painter and his colleagues (but the notation is different, e.g., fig. 12i). On pp. 31-32 the author gives a detailed description of Makron's drapery and its evolution towards rounded, voluminous folds; the mantle folds that run over the thighs and legs towards the contour of the buttocks and the back of the thighs evolve from straightish to the beautiful, double-curved, undulating lines so typical of Makron. A similar development may be seen in the upper edge of the pelvis or hip: at first it is a simple stroke and then becomes a remarkable triple curve (fig. 16).

The *Main Phase II* (no 296-434, pp. 32-39) is assumed to start after 295, on which a 'new' form of chiton is introduced (A3, Odysseus and A5, Euopsis); its description is hard to follow, but it is resumed on pp. 56-57 where it is explained in detail: it consists in a shortish overfall, hanging down from the shoulders and the neck, over a deep, wide kolpos (with which it forms one piece, the material being folded over at the neck and shoulders). The effect of this dress is lovely (295, 300 etc.), but the arrangement is not as new as K. suggests: it occurs, though less conspicuously, on numerous earlier cups, e.g., 26 A3, 63 A2, 122, 128 I, B3, 135 etc.

Some cups seem earlier than *Main Phase II* but in certain aspects belong to it (p. 33); however, with the massed figures of 300 (the Boston skyphos) we have definitely reached this ripe stage. On the London Triptolemos skyphos (319), the breasts of the girls are

stressed by means of a stiff sort of 'modelling' folds, which now become common (e.g., 345, 381, see figs. 12, 18). Mantles are ample, with heavy folds, but later the volume becomes even greater (see the chlamys of Theseus in 338). Now compositions and figures are perfectly harmonious (352, the Olympic cup in Bochum), and Makron's technique of figure drawing is excellent. Mythological scenes grow more frequent.

There are notable instances of erotic tenderness (e.g., 301, 303, 377, 381, kissing on 98). Though Makron is little given to erotic extravagances, satyrs are usually sexually aggressive and sometimes men and boys are quite uninhibited: e.g., the boy showing himself to a bearded *erastes* (507), and the excited wild youths B3 on 522 and 373. An extreme case is 227 with its pornographic intensity, especially in B3, who is an Aristophanic *euryproktos* (a practicing male whore). As for the other subjects: sport scenes disappear (except 351).

On 'small' cups *komoi* are depicted in three-figure scenes. Tondos with single figures become rare; in that of 353 there are even three persons. Eyes grow narrower with the pupil nearer the corner. What K. calls 'blue' eyes occur not rarely (fig. 12c, 19a and 19i etc.); however, it seems more likely that they are meant not as blue, but as flashing or eager eyes or as a mere twinkle (note also the fierce eye of Heracles, fig. 20b, 439, whose fiery mentality on Greek vases is often expressed in his eyes). Most of the artistically ambitious cups are signed.

The transition to the *Late Phase* (pp. 37-39, 435-532) is vague and fluent. A new garment is introduced, made of thick material and embroidered with stiff ornaments (439) and also a stiff chiton with a broad black border (437; see 444 and compare 435 and 436). In mantles the drapery folds become wider and wider (p. 38); as is shown in fig. 20, beards are shorter and untidy and the hair is often a simple black cap. Again eyes grow narrower with tiny dots for pupils.

In this Late Phase inscriptions are rare but we find *Hiketes kalos* twice (511, 517). In its beginning there are still two figures in the tondo (10 examples), later tondos are filled with single youths or men. As can be seen in fig. 20 and the plates, we end with the style of an old artist who may have lost some of his vitality but not his technique (519-532).

At the end of this chapter we should ask if we accept the sequence of the vases in the catalogue and the development suggested by it. The distribution of the vases in each phase is, as K. warns us, rather uncertain, but the division into four phases seems convincing. This appears also in elements not considered by the author. For example, there is a chronological indication in the curious stiff short lines in the form of a tiny star indicating the folds radiating from the buttons on the chiton sleeves (26, 44, 98, 123, 128-9, 133, 135, 142, 151, 167, 189, compare 208). These disappear after 197, except for B3 of 236, a cup that might perhaps be somewhat earlier in the series, also because of the sharp zig-zag folds in the himations and the rigid narrow folds in the long chiton of B3.

Chapter III (pp. 40-74) deals with *Bildmaterial*, i.e., the store of schemes Makron had at his disposal to construct his scenes. More perhaps than his colleagues he adhered to strict schemes, which are here set out in

numerous drawings that are very useful indeed (figs. 21-27), but are traced from photos: this may be a common habit and is perhaps pardonable because useful, but in most cases it results in shocking distortions through foreshortening. Though ancient painters would be happily surprised if they knew of the astounding attention bestowed upon their work during the last two centuries, they would surely be deeply offended by this hideous maltreatment of their drawings.

Komasts, sportsmen, satyrs and mythological figures, all are depicted with the same schemes (p. 50). The number of times the individual schemes are repeated is marked in figs. 21-27: of the more than 1000 repetitions only 32 are more or less '*einmalig*' (flying erotes, maenads asleep on the ground and a few other figures). When occasionally Makron abandons his fixed schemes he is apt to go badly astray, witness the very clumsy drawing of some of the figures on 161 (p. 50 and n. 177). Usually, however, Makron succeeds in adapting formulas to all kinds of scenes. Kunisch points out that his mental store of figures was the general visual tradition of the painters of his time, the common '*Kerameikosrepertoire*' (p. 52).

Scholars have differed in their judgement of Makron's skill to a surprising degree, especially three of the great ones (p. 41, n. 161). Furtwängler was very critical of his hands and feet, Pfuhl calls them '*oft ganz abscheulich*', but Beazley finds them beautiful, toes, instep, heel and all!

In the paragraph *Gesten und Gebärden* (pp. 52-56) K. tries to discover a meaning in the strikingly lively gestures of hands and arms of Makron's figures. Here, it may be feared, we have a form of overinterpretation to which we are all prone when deeply involved in a fine subject. After all, as the space that was to be decorated was circular (or rather consisted in a curved area along the outside of the bowl), tall figures had to be radial, their feet close together and their heads far apart. Makron used his remarkably dynamic hands and arms to fill this space and to give vivacity to his rows of figures, to add variation and interesting patterns; hardly ever do they clearly express some emotion nor are they often meant as greeting; they are, as K. says, *Raumfüllung*. This appears also from the many meanings that can be attached - if one wishes - to certain gestures: the raised hand with palm forward, K. tells us, denotes '*Abwehr, Erschrecken und auch Anrede*' (p. 84). Of course, there are also meaningful formulas (e.g., for singing, p. 54, n. 197, see below). Only rarely a gesture that is visually expressive but 'semantically' void, may become highly significant, as when poor Philomela 'speaks' with her hands on 335. Remarkably, even the twigs and flowers in the hands of the figures are usually not meant to be presented to the figure opposite (but see 381 A4-5); they are (p. 55) '*Ausdruck der eigenen Eleganz, Schönheit und erotischen Anziehung*' (314 B5: a flower in the hand of a satyr!). However, it is not uncommon in the heat of the summer for modern Greeks to walk about with a small hyacinth between their fingers: its lovely smell helps to bear the heat, and the flower gives a sense of well-being and elegance. At the end of this paragraph K. summarizes with the rather sharp, and perhaps not quite just, verdict:

Makron possesses only an *'eingeschränkte Sprachfähigkeit'* (p. 56).

In the section on drapery (p. 56ff) K. draws attention to an interesting detail that may easily escape notice: a roundish bunch of cotton at the neck of the chiton of some women (also occasionally of men). This is explained by Beazley: 'a draw-cord was threaded through the neck-piece to tighten the garment at the neck, and the end of the neck-piece wound up into a little bunch' (figs. 15 b and e; 19 f and h; see also 109 I, 172, 185, 262 B3, 305 A2).

In this paragraph the text suffers from the repeated question 'whether the drawings agree with reality'. It is, to my mind, an anachronism to write (p. 59) *'ein ... Sich-frei-Machen von jedem Zwang zur Realitätsnachahmung'*. Surely, such a compulsion to imitate reality did not exist in the minds of Greek artists for at least a hundred years after Makron's lifetime (see below). On another page of this section deviations from what might have been drawn in a more 'realistic' way are rightly explained: *'Es scheint ihm ... vor allem ... um den Preis der Frauenschönheit zu gehen'* (p. 58). Towards the end of his career a *'Hang zur Ornamentalisierung'* manifests itself in the tendency towards ampler, more and more rounded forms in the drapery folds (p. 60).

The section on material objects (pp. 61 f.) reminds us of the fact that warlike scenes and battles hardly occur (see also p. 102, but note 4, 9, 10), which perhaps throws an interesting light on Makron's personality; in this connection K. speaks of a light-hearted character (*'Unbekümmertheit des Malers'*, p. 63). Incidentally, the 'bags' in the hands of the athletes on 351 look like long strings or thongs to be cut into shorter bits for winding round the fists (*murmēkes* for boxing, see the tondo) and for *ankylai* (*amenta*) for throwing the javelin.

The motives under the handles are treated on pp. 64-73, and illustrated with excellent pictures of every single motif. Ivy 'shrubs' appear not earlier than 356 and large ivy leaves only at the end (493 and further).

The last section deals with Makron's meanders, the only border motif he uses for his tondos. K. rightly calls them *'ausserordentlich homogen'* and therefore, after some hesitation, most certainly by the painter himself.

At the end of this chapter the question arises whether we have been given a clear impression of the style of the painter. The answer is that, apart from the doubt expressed above about 1, 4 and 10, one may be convinced that the items in the catalogue are rightly ascribed to Makron - with two restrictions: Kunisch is uncertain of the outside of 372 (n. 560; and indeed, the satyr A1 is amazingly light-moving and elegant - but compare 308d -, the paunch-bellied B3 is far too large, the wild jumping of the frolicking maenad B2 thirsting for the huge kantharos is perhaps too exuberant, and other details too are unusual). I myself would rather regard 221 as 'in the manner' (especially B; note the bad arms and curious faces - if these details are not due to restorations).

Chapter IV (pp. 75-98) deals mainly with the composition of the tondos and the outside of the cups. K. pays much attention to the fact that cups were sometimes hung on the wall, and believes that this influenced Makron's choice of the kind of composition on A-B (pp. 84 ff). It should, however, be pointed out that

this is unlikely: when the cup was hanging on the wall, the onlooker would find that the foot was in the way (p. 81: the diam. of the base line of the outside 'friezes' is smaller than that of the foot), the distance was too great to appreciate the small pictures and most of the scenes would be invisible because of the foreshortening through the curve of the bowl. Besides, while hanging, the scenes of A and B would be in an ugly position, all figures on their sides and some head-down. Therefore, this position cannot have played a major role in Makron's mind. Of course, the symposiasts admired the pictures while handling and turning the cups in their hands (before drinking or in the intervals), and one wonders why this is never depicted on vases nor mentioned in the literary symposia, in some of which beauty played such a role.

While looking at the outside of the cup, the eyes of the guest must often have been guided from A to B and *vice versa*, as K. extensively explains: for sometimes the figures at the ends of A or B turn towards the other side or look over the handle; still, the ancient symposiast could never enjoy both sides at the same time, as we can in this beautiful book. Yet K. shows that Makron *'einer Zusammenhang beider Ausseufrieshälften zuneigt'* (p. 82). In this connection K. speaks of an *omega* composition (p. 83, meaning capital *omega*), when the scenes on A and B are connected with each other at one handle (by the direction of the figures on the left and right), but not at the other handle, where figures are back to back. These are interesting observations but the emphasis on this type of composition is perhaps somewhat heavy.

As for the tondos, Makron had no great gift for the roundel, the look 'through the porthole': K. speaks of this: *'mangelhafte Adaptionsvermögen zeigt sich insbesondere an den Einzelfigur-tondi'* and *'Makrons Zug zum Unbeholfenen'* (p. 80). And it is true that some tondos are asymmetrical or unharmonious (p. 77; not quite satisfactory are, apart from the earliest cups, e.g., 36, 50, 103, 193, 250, 307, 314, 330, 386, 446, 462, 509, 512, 533), but there are very fine ones, in fact some that belong to the best of all Attic tondos (98, 188, 151, 340, 345, 381). It may be added that the typical slanting meander that Makron often uses, gives the tondo a rotating effect that is functional: after all, the tondo has no true vertical axis, and the cup, while being handled, was constantly turned round to left and right. Therefore it is difficult to decide how to publish the photographs (though sometimes there are ground lines or objects that ought to be horizontal: e.g., 22, 26, 116, 169, 303, 381, 419 etc.). K. often prints the tondo so that its figure seems to lean backwards (p. 134, n. 637; e.g., 160, 368, 373, 431, 517); that this, though slightly surprising, may be right, appears from similar figures in A or B from which the tondo figure was 'copied' (see, e.g., 160, 368). Sometimes a 'correct' choice is impossible (46, 243, 396, 444), which is only natural; but not the best choice seems to have been made in the case of 20, 66, 67, 128 - cf. 63 -, 160, 243, 296, 338, 342. Perhaps it would be better not to print the tondo in a black square, as is usually done, for the square suggests a horizon. K. points out that the relation of the 'vertical' of the tondo to the axis through the handles is usually what might be called 35-40 minutes past one-two (p. 76, n. 312).

Compared to other painters Makron uses very simple compositions for the pictures on the outside of the cups: *Dreifigurengruppen* (pp. 87f.) and rows of *Zweifigurengruppen* (pp. 91f.). K. analyses the different possibilities with great precision and care (pp. 91-95).

Chapters V and VI are no doubt the most valued by the author himself and with which the reader may find fault more often than elsewhere in the book. They are full of theoretical reflections, thought-provoking but sometimes not easy to follow, and here and there the theories are definitely too 'modern' to be wholly acceptable (see below). The two chapters are very extensive (pp. 94-149), too extensive to do them justice in a summary.

Chapter V (*Bildthemen*) deals with Makron's subjects and themes (pp. 98-139). There are 215 'every-day' themes (symposion, *komos*, athletes, men and boys/hetaerae and a few others) against 110 scenes of 'irrealer Wirklichkeit' (myths and thiasoi or satyr scenes; p. 99).

K. repeatedly refers to *Vorlagenbücher* and *Bildkopien*, but the assumption of the use of such 'modelbooks' seems to underrate the visual store and memory that was inculcated into the apprentices from a very early age onwards - perhaps as early as the age of 5 or 6 when the boy would look at what happened in the clay-piled shed of his father or uncle. Of course, in every one of the long row of pottery workshops in the street, there must have been a store of sketches, or perhaps misfired vases with fine pictures that were not thrown away; and not only small boys (who later turned out to be gifted draughtsmen) but also the master-painters would look around in the sheds of their neighbours. Consequently for all myths and attitudes every painter had a store of schemes in his head which he 'only had to trace' on the surface of the vase.

In Chapter V the author discusses Makron's traditional scenes and his 'new' themes. First the 'traditional' myths: Antaios and Alcyoneus (1, not very traditional to my mind), Troilos (4, a very original version, see above), the fight for Achilles' arms (45), the Seven against Thebes (433) and other myths. In the next section he speaks of traditional scenes of every-day life, first the stadion, p. 103 (which is common only in the early stage). Here Makron sometimes uses his figure-schemes without thinking, for example on 42: A2 is taken from a meaningful context such as 40 B2; 42 B2 seems to 'attack' with his strigil (a rather curious attitude), whereas the sitting athlete A4 who is checking the straightness of his javelin, is an original figure and far too large for the context.

After the description of the athletic scenes there is an extensive analysis of the thiasos (pp. 105-110); Dionysus is often lacking and there is 'ein allgemeines Desinteresse der Mänaden in körperliche Sexualität' (p. 108), which, of course, is common in Attic rf. painting.

The most interesting discussions are in Chapter VI (*Bildrealität*), especially in the section *Mythos und Realität* (p. 149ff), which speaks of cups that may reflect the great calamities of Makron's time, the Persian wars and the destruction of the city. K. says that 'eine neue zeitgemässe Sicht ins Bild gesetzt wurde' (a new perspective that refers to contemporary events, p. 150). A good example is 169: Achilles is on his *kline* and Hector's corpse lies under his table; Achilles holds a vicious

carving knife in his outstretched hand over Hector's head. This scene represents the wrath of Achilles, not his reconciliation with Priam from which it is borrowed. On the outside Achilles' fury is extended beyond his death: Neoptolemos with a sword in his hand, is leading Polyxena by the wrist to the grave-monument of Achilles (under the handle), while a long row of heroes follows. The whole kylix seems to speak of fury and revenge; perhaps, as K. suggests, it reflects the terror of the Persian wars. But this is not the only scene that conceivably was historically relevant in the eyes of the Athenians. There is a (badly damaged) version of the traditional legend of the two great heroes playing a board game (149, pp. 153, 155). They are crouching, not quietly seated at their board, as if restless; Athena warns them, a trumpeter calls the alarm, on the other side a row of warriors in full armor is running to left, their spears resting on their shoulders, one looking frontally at us. K. thinks that they are fleeing Trojans but fleeing warriors look round and do not shoulder their spears but point them backwards; therefore, they must be Greeks rushing to the rescue. That they run to left and not to right may mean that the outcome of the ensuing battle is far from certain (as were the Persian wars; but such niceties may be too far-fetched). Such a scene surely would remind contemporary Athenians of the panick before Marathon or Salamis. The most important one is perhaps 352, the Olympus cup in Bochum, which portrays the reception of Heracles by Athena (in the tondo) and the gods sitting in state to welcome him. The place of honour should, of course, be occupied by Zeus, but he is shoved to the left; in the centre of B we see, very unexpectedly, Ares in beautiful armor, being served with wine by Nike; on the other side the place of honour is given to Dionysus. K. reminds us of Hdt 6.108: the evening before Marathon the Athenians gathered at the sanctuary of Heracles (n. 712). Ares in the limelight in scene B suggests that the cup may be a thanksgiving or prayer 'an jene Mächte, die in einem besonders schicksalhaften Augenblick den Athenern beigestanden haben' (p. 151).

Comparable is perhaps no. 338 with its curious tondo. On pp. 134-135 Kunisch discusses the vexed question what Makron had in mind with it. Theseus is drawing his sword opposite a beautiful young woman inscribed 'Aithra', who lovingly caresses his chin with both outstretched hands. K. concludes that Theseus does not threaten his surprisingly hetaere-like mother but, having just discovered his father's sword, he draws it in a gesture of 'algemeinen Entschlossenheit'. Clearly Makron made a very free use of the traditional scheme he had in mind (probably that of Menelaos threatening Helen). The myth of Theseus' manly courage was, of course, of national importance to Athens, and so is the quarrel over the true Palladion on the outside. Theseus' sons are present: Akamas threatens Odysseus who carries the faked statue; when it was decided that the true one was in the hands of Diomedes, Damophon was to take it to Athens, where it was a sacred image of some importance. Thus the whole cup bore a patriotic message.

Other possible cases of this use of myths are 433 (The Seven against Thebes with fine heroes putting on their arms; B3 should be Amphiaraos), and the Theban

sphinx (330, p. 152). The latter is a very curious modification of the traditional scene: the sphinx, a remarkably small, cute 'monster', sits in the middle of the city, and causes a surprising panic among the elderly and youthful citizens. K. speaks of a 'Parabelfunktion' in Makron's myths, and he certainly may have a point.

In some other matters, however, K.'s suggestions seem to be questionable. About the famous Briseis skyphos in the Louvre, K. says (331, pp. 133-134, 155): 'Während Briseis soeben aus seinem Zelt geführt wird, bleibt Achilles im Kreis einiger Freunde in seinem Groll zurück.' He believes that here we have a local and temporal unity. It is clear, however, that B illustrates the *Litai* (*Iliad* 9), the embassy to Achilles' tent, which took place much later: not only is the scheme exactly as expected for this popular scene, but the names Aias, Odysseus and Phoenix are inscribed. However, K. objects: 'das ist kein Gegenargument' (p. 134) and it is true that Diomedes (A4), looking round to B, forms a visual link between the two famous episodes of the great tragedy of Troy, but it is a mistake (even an anachronism, see below) to regard it as a sign of unity of time and space. Here (and in some other cases) K.'s wish to see thoughtful depths in Makron's scenes leads him astray.

Chapter VI is called: *Bildrealität und Grenzen der Realitätswiedergabe*. These are modern concepts: when used for a painter like Makron, they have an anachronistic flavour and may therefore be misleading. Another such concept is *die Wahl des Augenblicks* - reminiscent of the snapshot of photography! - , but this is not foremost in the author's mind, though, on p. 145, we read about *momentan-Alltägliches. Wirklichkeit* (reality), however, plays a major roll in these chapters. Yet, one should seriously doubt whether anything like it existed in the minds of the Greeks of that period. Vase painters certainly did not strive to depict 'reality' (whatever one may mean with the word), they tried to render human life and activities in general or *in abstracto*, such as 'running', 'feasting', 'making love', 'quarrelling', 'fighting', 'drinking' etc. For this they used suggestive and convincing schemata or formulae. Therefore, one should object to a remark the author makes on p. 148: 'Makron should not be suspected that he was unable to depict what he saw (*dass er nicht malen konnte, was er sah*)' and 'Makron has no disciplined grip on reality, no ... penetrating observations of reality...' (p. 18). Surely, vase painters of that period did not try to paint what they saw, they wanted to make pictures of human life and did so with conventional, simplified and therefore satisfactory formulas. That this is so appears, for example, from the persistence of the frontal eye in profiles, which was felt to be - and actually is - more eloquent than the profile view! In other paragraphs, however, K. gives a better description of the process: 'the pictures/paintings of this period spring from the artist's mind, rather than from his observations' (p. 18).

The above criticisms do not detract from our admiration for the countless, sharp observations in this overwhelmingly thorough book.

This thoroughness is, indeed, highly admirable, yet we may end with a few remarks about topics that are brought up here and there in the book but deserve a closer look. In the first place, the reader might wish to be informed about Makron's notation of anatomy. In

contrast with so many excellent text figures on other aspects (figs. 9-32), there are no pictures to show his rendering in dilute paint of the muscles in necks, shoulders, legs, arms, torso etc.; yet, anatomy was one of the foremost interests of all Greek artists. In most of the plates these details are nearly invisible, but with some difficulty the reader may discover that Makron's knowledge must have been full and up to date. Yet, there is one rather curious weakness: the rendering of the abdomen and the *linea alba*, when the hip is in profile and the breast frontal. This problem had been solved long before 500 BC but it seems that it was not mastered or, perhaps rather, neglected by Makron. Good renderings can be discerned in the photos of, e.g., 10 A1, 36 B2 (fig. 16b), 73 A4, 95 I, 244, but clumsy or faulty drawings are common (8 A2, 10 A2, 21 A2, 22 B1 and 3 - fig. 11 -, 50 A2, 52 I, 66 I, 133 A4 etc.). Even when rendered correctly the abdomen is not rarely drawn as a harsh oval (8 B3, 36 B2). A curious rendering of the *serratus magnus* and the ribs is seen on 360 A3, 404 I, 486 I (compare figs. 11 and 14c). The lower border of the abdomen on either side is often drawn in a black line and so is the lower part of the *linea alba* (e.g., 36 A3, B3, 43, 52 A3, B1, 116 A3, 227 I); in half-profile these two are sometimes confused: e.g., 245 A1-2, B2-3, also fig. 16-17.

Rather surprising is Makron's clumsy rendering of shoulders and stretched-out arms on the far side: on one of his masterpieces, the skyphos with the judgement of Paris (295) both shoulders of Hermes, who is leaning on his staff, are painfully misshapen (as K. points out); other examples of bad arms are, e.g., 73 A3; 161 A2 and A5-6, B2 - see p. 50 and n. 177 -; 185; 330 A1, 386 B4; 419 A1, and further instances of bad drawing are 193 A4, 243 A2. It may be pointed out that the breasts of the girls are usually placed too high (e.g., 179, 236 I, 334), and that legs are not rarely too long (e.g., 29 I, 124 I; 186, 462 I); also, some figures are out of proportion: e.g., 10 A2, 42 A4, 372 B3.

Not sufficiently appreciated are Makron's remarkable attempts at facial expression: whereas his love of lively, though often not very meaningful, gestures is treated thoroughly in *Chapter III*, pp. 52 ff, there is no paragraph on facial expression. Note the eager face of fig. 12e (381, see pl. 131), the expressive eye of the girl in fig. 12f and especially, the tiny stroke at the corners of mouths indicating a fine smile, sometimes a smile of satisfaction or success (fig. 12b and d etc.) and sometimes there is a look of disappointment (fig. 12a). Most delightful is the friendly smile on 434. Remarkable is the girl on the inside of 381 (fig. 12c and pl. 131) who pulls the head of her lover towards her with a tender right hand (a gesture that occurs quite often), while holding his eager right hand back from her thigh. There is the faintest smile round the corner of her mouth, but her gaze is unusually intent and seductive: a light iris with the tiniest pupil. Sometimes a face seems intimidated (483 A2) and others seem expressive though clumsy (475, A1-2 and perhaps 509). Such subtle differences in the eyes and mouths were no doubt intentional and prove, when rendered successfully, an exceptional ability in the painter. Of course, as K. points out, Makron also uses expressions that were common at the time: often mouths are open and meant to be

speaking (483 A3, or loudly announcing a victory: 50 I), and some are singing with gusto (486, also 26, 29, 66, 73, 133, 361; see p. 54, n. 197).

With these, rather random, remarks we have come to the end of this impressive study of Makron's qualities and defects. Though we have experienced that the author's style of writing is often far from simple, we have thoroughly enjoyed studying his comments, and are very grateful for the great love and thoughtfulness with which he has produced these two rich and splendid volumes.

J.M. Hemelrijk

J.A.K.E. DE WAELE (ed.), B. D'AGOSTINO, P.S. LULOF, L.A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, *Il tempio dorico del foro triangolare di Pompei*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 399 pp., folding maps, ill.; 29 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, 2). – ISBN 88-8265-149-5.

One of the earliest buildings to be excavated in Pompeii is the so-called Doric temple in the Triangular Forum which was uncovered from 1767 onwards. For centuries it has stirred up many discussions and given cause for speculation about the earliest history of the town. For this reason, Amedeo Maiuri was very interested in the history of the building, and executed excavations in and around the temple in 1931. He never published the results of this dig, in which, among other things, several architectural terracotta's of superb quality were found. None of his successors at the Soprintendenza di Pompei found the time or opportunity to continue the work. Finally Jos de Waele, Professor in Classical Archaeology of the Radboud University in Nijmegen, had the courage to take the thread and from 1981 onwards - 50 (!) years after the excavations of Maiuri - started to study the building in order to write, together with some colleagues, a comprehensive monograph on this important monument. It has become literally his lifework, which he unfortunately never saw in printed form. On his way to Italy to attend the official presentation of the book, he died tragically in a car accident on June 30, 2001 (see the necrology in *BABesch* 77, 2002, VI-IX). He could have been proud of the achievement: no other recent book on a monument in Pompeii is as exhaustive and as readable as this one.

The book is well structured, and in every chapter the subject under discussion is treated systematically and clearly. Furthermore it is abundantly supplied with illustrations (photos, drawings, plans). De Waele takes care of the history of the excavations (Ch. I), the architectural description (Ch. II), the structural reconstruction (Ch. III), the cult (Ch. VII), and the surroundings of the temple (Ch. VIII). The terracottas are treated by Bruno D'Agostino (Ch. IV - Archaic architectural terracottas), Patricia Lulof (Ch. V - Late archaic figural terracottas), and Lucia Amalia Scatozza Hörich (Ch. VI - Samnite system and other parts). Finally, in Ch. IX D'Agostino, Scatozza Hörich and De Waele together give their views on the chronology of the temple. There is only one real mistake in the layout: the page with the 'Indici Generali' on p. 391 should be on page 395, and

the one on page 395 with the 'Indici' on p. 391.

The most important results of the research are the following. The temple had a rather unusual disposition of 7 columns across the width and 11 columns along the sides. The foot measure used in the temple was 29.6 cm. The width was subdivided into 4' (steps) - 18' (pteron) - 22' (cella) - 18' (pteron) - 4' (steps), in total 66'. The length of the stereobate was 100' (a hekatompedos), but it seems that 99' was used for the superstructure of the temple, giving a width : length ratio of 2:3. The design is very different from the 'classical' Greek temple of 6 x 13 columns and in other points the differences are very large (see the table on p. 127). De Waele convincingly shows that the temple was built according to Etruscan traditions (p. 131-132), but that it was influenced by the Greek tradition in its plastic decorations. On the basis of a description found in 1897 De Waele also proves that the temple was dedicated to Minerva (p. 311-314). Finally, almost *en passant*, he gives a metrological analysis of the 'Palestra Sannitica' (p. 325-327), adjoining the Foro Triangolare, which proves to have originally measured 64' x 130'.

The oldest building phase of the temple dates from about 550 BC, and it received a new roof around 500 BC. At the beginning of the 3rd century BC a complete restructuring took place, including the construction of a new pavement, frieze and roof. About a century later a portico was built around the neighbouring square and the area became a *campus*, i.e. a gymnasium and a *palaestra*, meant for the youth of Pompeii. Finally, after the earthquake of AD 62, the temple was partly dismantled and a provisional sanctuary was built over the cella.

As stated before, the book is extensively illustrated, partly in colour, and contains in its appendices the complete excavation reports and lists of finds. This documentation alone makes the book indispensable for every respected archaeological library. Besides that, in its accessibility and clarity it will serve as an example to others.

Richard de Kind

NIKOLAUS HIMMELMANN, *Alltag der Götter*. Paderborn: Schöningh (Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge G 385). 2003. 124 S., 47 Abb.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3-506-71484-8.

This publication, containing no more than 120 pages but many interesting observations, consists of three lectures supplemented by an extensive body of notes. The author writes in a style based on concepts of a high level of abstraction (rather reminiscent of the writings of Ernst Buschor), not easy to follow for non-Teutonic readers. The subtitle of the first lecture is an (untranslated) quotation from Cicero's *De Nat. Deorum*. I. 50-51: it asks: *quae vita deorum sit quaeque ab is degatur aetas* (perhaps to be rendered with: 'what kind of life have the gods and in what sort of time do they live or exist?'). The other two lectures are entitled *Götterideale* and *Epiphanie und Verwandtes*. The contents of these lectures are difficult to summarize. Here follows a very incom-

plete selection of points that seem of importance.

The argument starts with the emergence in the Classical period of the representation of gods in a timeless existence (transcending time), which imparts to the statues and pictures a strong religious significance. This kind of divine representation with a highly religious significance is not found in the ancient texts and has therefore not been appreciated or even recognized by historians of Greek religion (p. 8). This leads to a discussion of the often debated, puzzling phenomenon of gods performing a libation with a phiale. Already Plutarch expressed disbelief that a god would imitate human actions (p. 11); Furtwängler called it '*Vermenschlichung der Götter*'. With the phiale in the hands of statues of gods, a human element seems to have intruded into the divine sphere (p. 14). In fact, vase paintings often give the impression that, when the gods are not depicted in some mythological event, their daily life (*Alltag*) exists mainly in pouring *spondai* (libations). H's explanations is that this rite consists in and for itself, and that it is, in essence, nothing but *Heiligung* (sanctification): the depiction of a god performing a *sponde* is the manifestation of that god's sacredness (p. 19); such depictions or statues are not 'episodic' but portray the god as a purely timeless divinity (*Daseinsbild*). In such cases there is no question of an *Empfänger der Spende* (p. 22). The sanctification by *spondai* belongs to the divine sphere and is imitated by human beings, not the other way round. It is a rite that has descended to the world of humans; as Goethe said: '*Der Sinn und das Bestreben der Griechen ist, den Menschen zu vergöttern, nicht die Gottheit zu vermenschlichen. Hier ist Theomorphism, kein Anthropomorphism*' (p. 24).

This theme is extended to gods offering sacrifices that are proper to themselves. In this connection H. discusses the assembly of gods on the outside of the Sosias cup, which depicts the sacred atmosphere on Olympus, a timeless picture, and is not meant as a straightforward rendering of the introduction of Heracles among the gods; what we see is the transcendent holiness into which Heracles is being introduced (p. 26).

Thus, the actions of the Olympian gods on vases often represent their own archetype (*Urbild*): for example, when Dionysus *Ometes* is tearing a doe (as exemplary for maenads), or when Apollo is depicted sitting on his tripod (as the archetypical oracle-prophet); when Athena is modeling a horse from clay or when Apollo plays his kithara, and when gods are made to pray with their hands turned forward and upwards (fig. 16). In all this the gods express their essence by a time-transcending (*zeitlose*) action (p. 43). In short, *Daseinsbilder* render the gods as archetypes. '*Die einzig angemessene Beschäftigung der Götter ist der Vollzug und die Darstellung von Heiligkeit im Spenden und in den anderen, urbildlich ausgeführten Riten*' (p. 46).

The second chapter deals with '*Götterideale*' and has a subtitle: *Demeter als Göttin der Mysterien auf der eleusinischen Pelike in St Petersburg*.

Fifth-century representations and statues of the gods depict their archetypical character and features: the *Götterideal*. This is illustrated by the Apollo in the East frieze of the Parthenon who turns round towards Poseidon but whose face, in three-quarter, with dreamy eyes and half-open mouth expresses, the author says,

the *Schauende*, the *Seher* (fig. 20). This interpretation seems a little forced. As for Dionysus in the same frieze H. speaks of his *ekstatische Haltung* (fig. 21), but is this correct? The god leans comfortably with his right arm on Hermes' shoulder and his remarkably powerful, terse, muscular body seems relaxed in a casual conversation. H. explains that here we have '*die ausführliche Schilderung des zeitlosen individuellen Wesens eines jeden Gottes, nicht im Rahmen einer Porträtgalerie..., sondern in einem handlungsmässigen, situativen Zusammenhang*'. But this seems doubtful: Artemis, for example, with her chiton slipped from her shoulder, confidentially putting her hand through the arm of Aphrodite (who is pointing at the spectacle below), seems less characteristic of her own essence than usual and less transcendent or timeless than the author implies. In short, in this section of the discussion it is not easy to agree with the author in all respects.

The following pages deal in a comparable way with numerous divinities; e.g., the goddesses in the judgement of Paris on the ivory from Kul Oba in the Hermitage, and with Dionysus, who is often depicted as master of the *Rausch* (drunken ecstasy), a *sichselbst darstellendes Urbild* (p. 62); or Aphrodite who, in her adultery with Ares in the Odyssey, is victim of her own divine power. Such stories were sharply criticized all through antiquity, for nobody recognized anything positive in them (p. 63), except perhaps that they formed a welcome break from the monotony of the calamities and adventures of the heroes on earth. With this H. does not agree: in analyzing the essence of the gods, H. speaks, for example, of Zeus' worries, when he passes a sleepless night thinking of the Trojan battlefield; here Zeus is not 'humanized', he is acting as the archetypical family-father of mankind, for the gods do not wield an abstract power but each is conditioned by his or her own essence and divine character. Summarizing H. writes that the gods suffer their own power or enjoy it or project and represent it; they do this as *Götteridealen* (p. 71).

Then H. turns to the famous Eleusinian pelike in St Petersburg representing the holy family of the mysteries (figs. 25-27 and pp. 76ff). After a description of what is known about the mysteries, he speaks of the central event or happening, the *Schau* (*epopteia*, a direct confrontation with the holy essence of the rituals). On the pelike there is no action (*Handlung*) that connects the figures; most of them are frontal and seem isolated, it is an assembly of individual gods. But these divinities do show emotions: the foreheads of the gods are wrinkled, and Demeter's left hand is held up towards us with all fingers widely spread, as if in response to some miraculous spectacle. Clearly these gods are not simply 'lost in themselves' and unconscious of their surroundings; most of them are looking in the distance (to our right and to our left). They are, H. concludes, watching the central act of the mysteries: they participate in the *epopteia* (p. 79). Perhaps H. means to convey that they are, as it were, *mystai* themselves, but this is not quite clear.

Before this conclusion, and after it, there is an analysis of related phenomena, e.g., of frontal figures with a heavy, pathetic gaze, which are common in the fourth century (p. 79; for example, Demeter from Knidos). Here H. also speaks of Agias, but, to my mind, this ath-

lete seems to be represented in a very realistic manner, viz. as an exhausted victor after a series of heavy bouts, who, still sweating but quickly recovering, undergoes the ritual of being declared victor.

Further, there is an analysis of the *schauender Apoll* (p. 81) and of other gods and goddesses such as Iacchos, and Demeter.

In the third chapter, *Epiphanie und Verwandtes* with the subtitle: *Bildliche Aussagen über die Göttlichkeit der Götter*, we read about Xenophanes' criticism of the humanized gods, and about the Persians who found it foolish to represent gods in human form, while Dion Chrysostomos defends the production of statues of the gods because they 'make visible what is essentially invisible'. In this Phidias had succeeded, as Aristotle understood (p. 92): in Dion's speech Phidias says: 'not even a madman (μᾶνεις) would compare my Zeus with a statue of a mortal.'

How, H. asks, did ancient artists manage to represent the essence of their gods so convincingly to their contemporaries (p. 92)? This he tries to illustrate with a scene showing the birth of Aphrodite who rises from the sea on a Gnathian jug in the Louvre (fig. 33), with a picture of Heracles seated among the Hesperids (fig. 36), a mirror with Danaë receiving Zeus' golden rain (fig. 37) and with other representations, after which he returns to Phidias' Zeus (p. 99).

It is not easy to say how one should distinguish the rendering of an epiphany of a god from his *Daseinsbild* and in other scenes. H. does not agree with F. van Straten who believes that an epiphany can take place only if there is a human being to witness it and who therefore excludes all scenes in which mortals are lacking. 'Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass eine Götterfigur göttliche Eigenschaften in Form einer Offenbarung zu erkennen gibt' (p. 102).

In ancient texts, an epiphany of a god is often described as colossal in size and accompanied by fierce light. This is reflected in early sculpture by the ganosis, the shimmering of bronze and gold and by the immense size of certain cult statues (p. 105: e.g., a golden *sphyraton* of a Zeus statue of the Kypselids) and this, Himmelmann suggests, may also explain the huge size of archaic statues such as the Apollo on Delos and the abandoned Dionysus on Naxos etc. In vase scenes of an epiphany we often see a 'witness' (not always a mortal) who is astounded or frightened by what happens (p. 109) and this helps to understand the event as an epiphany. Further H. speaks of the powerful manner in which the epiphany of gods may be depicted in their statues (e.g., the Apollo Belvedere).

The foregoing shows that most of this publication is difficult to summarize. It is full of interesting suggestions and based on great learnedness. On the whole, H. succeeds in avoiding over-interpretation in his meticulous and profound discussions. Yet, some vase painters would, I imagine, be surprised if they could read what they are supposed to have meant to convey.

J.M. Hemelrijk.

ANNA MARIA COMELLA, *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera Santa Marinella - Comune di Civitavecchia I. I materiali votivi*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider

Editore, 2001. 155 pp., 42 pls.; 30 cm. (Archaeologica 131, Corpus delle stipe votive in Italia 13). - ISBN 88-7689-208-7.

From 1964 to 1967 four excavation campaigns took place in località Punta della Vipera (Santa Marinella, Civitavecchia). The work resulted in the discovery of an Etruscan sanctuary (c. 540/520-1st century B.C.) including a temple and a monumental altar, and traces of a Roman villa. Until now almost all findings - votive materials, ceramics and coins - have remained unpublished, although some are mentioned briefly in the reports (M. Torelli, *Tempio etrusco in loc. 'Punta della Vipera'*, *BdA* 50, 1965, 125-126; id., *Terza campagna di scavi a Punta della Vipera (S. Marinella)*, *StEtr* 35, 1967, 331-352; id. - M. Pallottino, *Terza campagna di scavi a Punta della Vipera e scoperta di una laminetta plumbea iscritta*, *AC* 18, 1966, 283-299). Publications also exist of two of the most important findings, an oracle *sors* and a small plate containing an Etruscan religious inscription, and of three vase inscriptions containing dedications to the goddess *Menerva* (Minerva). The book under review is the first volume of two publications planned to provide full details of finds. The first volume deals with the votive materials, the second volume will contain the ceramics and the coins.

The present volume is divided into a short introduction about the history of excavation and publication (pp. 19-20), part I has a catalogue of the votive materials (heads, fragments of statues, fragments of swaddled babies, statuettes of divinities (Minerva, Apollo?, Aphrodite), warriors, men, women, Erotes and animals, anatomical votives, loom weights, and various small objects of terracotta, stone and metal) and a scheme containing all catalogue items (pp. 23-122), and part II addresses the topography, the building history and the typology of the cult (pp. 123-148).

The sanctuary seems to be one of the oldest oracle sanctuaries in the Italic world, because the *sors* mentioned above, which is dated to the 5th century B.C., is the earliest one known. The chthonic altar similar to that of *Menerva* in the Portonaccio sanctuary of Veio, the dedicatory inscriptions to *Menerva*, the (fragments of) statues representing *Menerva*, the oracle cult that fits *Menerva*, together provide solid proof of the identity of the main goddess of the Punta della Vipera sanctuary. Most votive materials date between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC. Among them are the usual gifts of this period: anatomical ex votos (body parts, intestines, male and female genitals etc.) and swaddled babies. This points to healing and fertility aspects of the cult. *Menerva* used to be associated with these aspects too. The polyvisceral plateaus could be interpreted as those of the victim of a sacrifice or of a divination, appropriate in an oracular sanctuary. Heads wearing ivy crowns probably indicate a *rite de passage of iuvenes* in their transitional phase. The best parallel with this particular combination of cult aspects in an Etruscan *Menerva* sanctuary is Veio Portonaccio.

Typological and stylistic data of the ex votos point to contacts with Cerveteri in the 4th century BC, while in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC relations also existed with Tarquinia. Moreover in the latter period many

votive gifts used in Rome, the Roman colonies and what the author calls 'Romanised' territories were also present in Punta della Vipera.

From the character of some of the votive materials and of the architectonic decoration, it can be concluded that the Punta della Vipera sanctuary was an important cult place, visited by both lower and upper classes (p. 146).

The catalogue is conveniently arranged and the texts are written lucidly. A minor point of criticism concerns the scheme on pp. 119-122 containing all catalogue items. Unlike similar schemes in other volumes of the CSVI, the column with the number of samples of each material category is missing. Instead this number is included in the column with the stylistic types, which is less clear. Also missing in the scheme are the specific names in the categories M-O (objects of stone, metal, and miscellanea).

I would also like to make a remark on a detail: on p. 130 the author mentions briefly the Campetti sanctuary in Veio. She identifies the Etruscan cult as that of Demeter-Vei as if this fact is indisputable, which - in my opinion - it is not. Indeed, a Latin inscription from the Roman period of the sanctuary mentions Ceres, but for the Etruscan period only votive gifts without inscriptions with the name of the goddess appear. The character of these ex votos suits Demeter-Vei, but also other female deities.

Comella has great experience with this subject. She published on the votive materials of Gravisca (1978), Tarquinia: Ara della Regina (1982), Falerii (1986), and Veio Campetti (1993). She is one of the directors of the 'Corpus delle stipe votive in Italia'-series. The user of the present volume can benefit from Comella's extraordinary knowledge of both the typology and the religious background of the archaeological remains.

Natalie L.C. Stevens

THOMAS MORARD, *Les Troyens à Métaponte. Étude d'une nouvelle Iliupersis de la céramique italote*. Mainz: Von Zabern, 2002. 122 p., 8 pls, 5 figs, 30 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-2861-3.

This book focuses on the date, the painter and the interpretation of twenty fragments of an Apulian red figure volute-krater (Metaponto, Mus. Arch. inv. no. T5/312358) found in inhumation tomb 5/83 in the Pizzica-Pantanello cemetery in the chora of Metaponto. The chest tomb was, together with four other ones, excavated in January 1983 and published by Joseph Coleman Carter in 1998. It was damaged; the remains of at least one skeleton disappeared before they could be studied. Morard describes the history of the Greek colony in the Introduction. Chapter 1 is dedicated to the Pizzica-Pantanello necropolis. The inventory of tomb 5/83 is listed in Appendix I: 2 *gutti*, 2 *skyphoi*, 2 cups, 1 *pelike*, 20 sherds of the Apulian red figure volute-krater mentioned, 1 pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, 1 small cup, 1 iron nail, and 1 bronze coin. These artefacts can be dated in the second half of the 4th century BC, the volute-krater more precisely between 330 and 320 BC, affording a reasonable terminus ante quem for the goods on the bottom of the tomb. Like the amphora the

krater was found in the upper layer of the tomb. As the lid of the grave is lost, the krater may have served as marker above the tomb (and for funerary libations, if it had no bottom). In Chapter 2 Morard describes the twenty fragments of the krater. Its original height must have measured circa 125 cm. Appendix II presents a list of Apulian volute-kraters higher than 90 cm. It appears that the krater under discussion belongs to the ten largest. In Chapter 3 the author, using stylistic criteria, argues that the Darius Painter or his pupil, the Underworld Painter, decorated the vase. Hitherto it was assumed that these painters worked at Taranto, but they may have been itinerant, as the clay of the krater seems to be local. Chemical analysis may cast further light on the question. The belly fragments of side A of the krater show several figures identified by inscriptions. They read: Neoptolemos, Theano, Antenor, and Aineas. As the sherds show an aggressive Neoptolemos, evidently about to murder the Trojan king Priamos, and Aineas, armed, moving to right behind two mules drawing a cart, the original painting must have shown three or more events of the *Iliupersis*. The fragments of side B show part of a *naiskos*, with the deceased standing inside, some grave visitors and their gifts. Appendix III lists 53 representations of the *Iliupersis* in ancient art, on artefacts from the 7th century BC until the 3rd century AD. Only those pictures which show at least two episodes, have been catalogued. As a result, it appears in Chapter 4 that the mule cart scene on the volute-krater mentioned is exceptional. A sherd with a woman without inscription may represent Helena, threatened by her husband Menelaos. Cassandra attacked by Aias may have belonged to the original painting too. Theano and her husband Antenor are rendered as passive onlookers. The cart drawn by mules and protected by Aineas may have carried Anchises, Askanios, and sacred objects. The flight by cart is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who quotes as his source the *Troika* of Hellanicus of Mytilene (5th century BC). Morard suggests that the *Iliupersis* on the presumed grave marking volute-krater had an ethno-political, ideological message. In the very second half of the 4th century BC the indigenous part of the population of Metaponto tried to promote its own roots as is proven by the reverse images of new coins mentioning METABO, referring to the name of the eponymous, indigenous founder of the colony: Metabos. The presence of Theano, Antenor, and Aineas, all survivors from Troy and non-Greek founders of cities in Italy, would suggest an ideological intention. We do not know for sure, however, whether the deceased was a Greek or a proud native. Scenes of liberation, escape or successful flight on side A opposed to and to a *naiskos* with a deceased on side B are not rare on Apulian red figure vases. So there is more reason to interpret the *Iliupersis* picture as a dramatic story with some happy endings, in other words as a message of consolation for the deceased and the relatives. A funerary interpretation, therefore, seems to be more logical than a political one. If the vase had no bottom, the family might have made libations in honour of the dead, without political intentions. The book is well written, well edited and well illustrated.

Marlies E.H. Kroll-Spronken and L.B. van der Meer

LAURA MARIA MICHETTI, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria nella prima età ellenistica*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2003. 284 pp, 49 figs., 148 pls., 34 cm. (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti Antichi. Serie Miscellanea - Vol. VIII (LXI della Serie Generale)). – ISBN: 88-7689-198-6.

This monumental book deals in a very systematic way with the so-called silvered relief vases from the early Hellenistic period, produced in Etruria, hitherto known as 'Volsinian' pottery. The name silvered appears to be incorrect as the vases must have produced a gilded effect (p. 108). The vases have an outer coating of tin, with applied figured decoration. Michetti distinguishes three main workshops, at Falerii, Orvieto and Volterra. She tries to identify the models of inspiration or prototypes of the most common shapes. They often seem to be imitations of Apulian and Macedonian metal, often bronze vases. The author then analyses the iconography of the decorations. With few exceptions (pp. 97-98) the vases have been found in tombs, where they were part of a banquet service (meant as a symposium set) conveying a symbolic message. They are now dated between circa 350 and 250 BC.

In total 739 vases are dealt with, 360 originating from the Volsinian, 311 from the Faliscan, and 68 from the Volterranean area. Volsinian vases are found at Volsinii Veteres (Orvieto) and Volsinii Novi (Bolsena) and in graves located between these cities. Export took place from the Faliscan area to the Ager Tarquiniensis and the Ager Vulcentanus and from Volterra to Chiusi, Montalcino, Elba and Spain. The Volsinian repertory is most varied, containing many *oinochoai*, *paterae*, kraters, *situlae*, amphorae, *askoi* and *kernoi*. The Faliscan output includes alabastra, kraters, *phialai*, and *stamnoi*. The Volterranean production mainly consists of *oinochoai*, candelabrum, *olpai*, *kyathoi* and *situlae*. The production probably first started at Falerii Veteres in the third quarter, then at Volsinii Veteres in the last quarter, and, finally, at Volterra at the end of the 4th century BC. As for the iconographical themes the Volsinian and Faliscan centres have some themes in common: most popular are Amazonomachies, Athena, *hippocampi*, satyrs and *sileni*. Achilles, Dionysus, Heracles, Helios are represented in both production centres but in different scenes. Some figures like the Dioscuri, Gorgo/Medusa, Perseus, Phrixus, Socrates and Diotima, Vanth, male and female protomes are present on Volsinian vases but absent on Faliscan ones. Other mythological figures (Danaids, Daedalus, Demeter, giants, Iason, Hera, Nereids, Sirens, Thetis) are present only on Faliscan vases. Volterranean vases show Hermes only. Many interpretations are uncertain (p. 45, 47, 52, 55, 63) as they may reflect local myths or figures. Both vase forms and iconographical schemes and themes, often excerpted figures, strongly point to South Italian Greek, mainly Apulian and Tarentine models. Heroes like Heracles, Perseus and the Dioscuri may have been chosen by an élite which had a preference for strong men. Although Praeneste also shows many strong Tarentine influences in several art genres, it does not seem likely that the influence from Magna Graecia spread via Praeneste to

the Faliscan and Volsinian areas. Only one inscription reading *evrs*, may be the name of a potter from Magna Graecia. This was found on an applique discovered at Falerii Veteres (p. 105, 121). The owners of the tombs did not have the same social status. In the Faliscan area the new middle class almost never deposited metal artefacts in tombs, but imitated the metal vessels of the aristocratic upper class. In the Volsinian area, however, metal vases, often inscribed with the earmarking inscription reading *suθina* (of the grave), are present in tombs, therefore indicating the high aristocratic status of the owners, often rich landowners. Also from literary sources we know that the Volsinian society around 300 BC had a far less egalitarian character than in earlier centuries. The same holds good for the situation at Volterra where the upper class were rich landowners. The end of the production of silvered vases was probably due to the Roman conquest of Etruria.

Laura Michetti has made a fine work which is very important for all who are interested in workshops of *artes minores* and social structures in a crucial period of Etruscan culture.

L.B. van der Meer

F. COLIVICCHI, *La necropoli di Ancona (IV-I sec. A.C.) Una comunità italiana fra ellenismo e romanizzazione*. Napoli: Loffredo Editore, 2002. 510 pp., numerous drawings and photographs. – ISBN 88-8096-897-1.

The present-day regions of Marche, Abruzzo and Molise in Central-Adriatic Italy have long been among the stepchildren of Italian archaeology. They played no role in the Iron Age contacts between Italy and Greece, had no Greek colonies, no Rome and no Pompeii, and hardly featured in the ancient written sources. Consequently they were not seen as the most vibrant and interesting parts of pre-Roman and Roman Italy. On closer inspection, however, they appear to supply tantalizing pieces of information that contribute to the construction of their past. One of the most recent books that wets the appetite is F. Colivicchi's *La necropoli di Ancona*. It deals with various aspects of the Hellenistic-early Roman necropolis of the present-day capital of the Marche region.

In the ancient written sources (e.g. Strabo, Geography) Ancona is often portrayed as a 'Dorian-Greek' colony founded by Dionysius I of Syracuse (4th century BC). Its ancient name 'Αγκών (Greek: 'elbow') was supposed to refer to its elbow-shaped, sheltered harbour. However, the site was probably continuously inhabited from the Bronze Age onward. Its pre-Roman phases, moreover, do not differ significantly from those of other contemporary settlements in the same area. The Greek character of Ancona is mainly demonstrated by funerary stelai bearing Greek inscriptions and Greek inscriptions from Delos and Delphi mentioning people from Ancona. These testimonies, however, date to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

Colivicchi's book is primarily a *catalogue raisonné*. After presenting short introductions on the history of archaeological research at the site and its history (chapters I and II), it deals with the topography of the local necropoleis and the types of tombs found in the grave-

yards of pre-Roman Ancona (chapters III and IV). The Greek style stelai (never found in connection with graves) are documented in chapter V. The well over 300 pages thick chapter VI discusses the numerous finds and shows the drawings of the burials. Nearly each piece found in the Ancona graves is described and illustrated. Among these are magnificent funerary crowns and ear rings with close parallels in southern Italy and northern Greece, silver vessels from unknown sources, glass cups from the eastern Mediterranean, wine amphorae from Cnidos and Rhodos and fine wares from southeast Italy (Gnathia wares), northwestern Greece (West Slope wares), western Asia Minor (Hellenistic white-ground wares from the Cnidos or Pergamon area) and possibly Egypt (fayence). It is a pity that the most spectacular pieces are exclusively presented in small black and white photographs: they deserve a more generous treatment. Chapter VII discusses the rituals practiced during the burials. The last 20 pages contain the conclusions.

The catalogue of finds fills more than 60% of the book. The identifications of the objects in the burials are almost invariably correct. This is quite an achievement in view of the great variety of objects that come from so many different areas. For the relief wares with grey clay and dark grey gloss (e.g. tombs 15.1, 16.1, 26.1) one may suggest an origin in the Cnidos area, whilst the West Slope pieces (tombs 9.1, 9.2, 10.1) probably came from the Epirus-Corfu area. But since Epirote West Slope and Cnidian Grey wares have only sparingly been published, the author should not be blamed.

The 'archaeological history of Ancona' in the final chapter is decidedly the most daring and refreshing part of Colivicchi's book. Here the author casts serious doubts on the Greek origin (the Syracusan 'foundation') of Ancona. Hitherto not a shred of evidence has been found that irrefutably supports Strabo's claim for Greek origins. The main temple of the town, for instance has nothing to do with Greek 4th-century architecture, but is of a clearly Italic type (cf. F. D'Andria in *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi, Atti settimana di studio, Agrigento 1999*, Rome 2003, 121-122). Of course it is attractive to see the late-Hellenistic sculptured stelai with Greek inscriptions as a proof of Ancona's Greek origins. But Colivicchi rightly raises the question whether the elite of Ancona did not live up to its own image. Their foundation myth gave them Greek origins, but this story is not supported by archaeological evidence. He could well be right. Ancona's Greek origins might prove to be a case of invented history. Many non-Greek settlements of Italy invented Greek oikists (Diomedes, for instance, reportedly founded both south-Apulian Brindisi and north-Apulian Arpi). The elite of Ancona of late Hellenistic times with evidently close links with the Greek speaking areas of the eastern Mediterranean, spoke Greek, had Greek names and saw themselves as Greeks, whatever their real origins were. They were buried underneath tomb stones with Greek inscriptions. These *semata* were mostly made of Cycladic marble (cf. contacts between Ancona and Delos) and are indeed stylistically close to contemporary Delian stelai. The elite of Ancona claimed a Greek identity and displayed their 'Greekness' in many ways (another example: quite a number of the Ancona tombs contain strigils referring to the palaestra and Greek *paideia*).

La necropolis di Ancona, therefore, is a treasure cove with great potential. It contains the complete inventories of a substantial series of sometimes highly spectacular Ancona tombs which supply important information on, for instance, status, gender and economic contacts. Moreover, it offers us an insight in the way the people of Hellenistic Ancona saw themselves and constructed a presumably completely invented past for their local community.

Douwe Yntema

MARIA PAOLA GUIDOBALDI, *I materiali votivi della Grotta del Colle di Rapino*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2002. 79 pp., 10 pls; 25 cm (Corpus delle stipi votivi in Italia; 15) (Archaeologica; 134). – ISBN 88-7689-182-X.

La Grotta del Colle, située entre Pretoro e Rapino (prov. Chieti, Italie Centrale) au pied du versant NE de la Maiella, est une des nombreuses grottes de ce massif des Abruzzes, fréquentée du Paléolithique jusqu'à l'ère chrétienne et alternativement utilisée comme abri ou à des fins funéraires ou cultuelles. Lors de recherches archéologiques ayant comme objet tantôt la séquence stratigraphique de l'occupation préhistorique dans la grotte, tantôt les restes de l'église médiévale «S. Maria de Cryptis» près de l'entrée, fut mis au jour également un grand nombre de matériel d'époque hellénistique et romaine, apparemment à caractère votif et pour la plupart resté inédit. C'est le catalogue de ce matériel, datable entre le IV^e s. av. J.-Chr. et le III^e s. ap. J.-Chr., qui constitue la partie substantielle de l'ouvrage en question. Mis à part quelques monnaies et quelques objets en os, il s'agit essentiellement de fragments en terre cuite et de céramique. Parmi les premiers on retrouve des fragments de statues, de statuettes masculines et féminines, d'une figure animale, de têtes, de parties du corps et de masques. Outre un plat fragmentaire de production «Alto-Adriatica», la céramique comprend surtout différentes formes de céramique à vernis noir (du IV^e au II^e siècle av. J.-Chr.). L'intérêt de ce matériel, en soi assez commun et de qualité médiocre, réside surtout dans le fait d'être retrouvé à cet endroit et de témoigner de la présence en ce lieu d'un culte dédié à une divinité salutaire. Une situation semblable, c.-à-d. la superposition de matériel votif hellénistique et romain aux traces de fréquentation préhistorique, a pu être constatée dans plusieurs autres grottes des Abruzzes, en particulier autour du Fucino.

A ce matériel votif quelque peu étranger à la tradition cultuelle indigène, indiquant probablement une médiation des colonies latines installées dans les Abruzzes à partir de la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-Chr., sont ajoutés quelques documents exceptionnels qui auraient aussi été découverts dans ou près de la Grotta del Colle, bien que ceci n'est pas du tout établi. Il y a tout d'abord la célèbre *Tabula Rapinensis*, publiée pour la première fois en 1846 par Theodor Mommsen, acquise par l'«Antikenmuseum» de Berlin et actuellement conservée au Musée Pouchkine de Moscou, qui d'après le savant allemand aurait été retrouvé dans la Grotta del Colle près de Rapino. Cette plaque de bronze, contenant apparemment le texte d'une loi sacrée, constitue

un des rares (et certainement le plus important) documents rédigés dans la langue des *Marrucini*. De sérieux doutes concernant le lieu de trouvaille furent cependant énoncés jadis par le regretté Valerio Cianfarani (*Culture Adriatiche d'Italia*, Rome 1970, 56). En 1932 et 1937 furent récupérées l'autant célèbre statuette en bronze de la «*dea di Rapino*» et une pierre incisée avec la représentation de *Zeus Nikephoros*, qui proviendraient l'une et l'autre de fouilles clandestines (et donc également incontrôlables) dans les parages de la Grotta del Colle. Ces objets, déjà rendus public auparavant à plusieurs reprises (plus souvent que ne le laissent supposer les notices bibliographiques dans le présent volume), sont repris ici par l'auteur sans se préoccuper de la fiabilité des données sur les circonstances de trouvaille. De la présence - peu certaine - de ces documents dans la Grotta del Colle elle tire même des conclusions concernant un changement qui serait survenu dans les cultes pratiqués à cet endroit entre le IV^e et le III^e siècle av. J.-Chr.!

Parmi les «vari» du catalogue l'auteur reprend également, sans explication sur le lieu ou les circonstances de la trouvaille, un bloc de pierre sur lequel est sculpté un visage humain et qui serait soi-disant «inedito». D'après Valerio Cianfarani, qui a publié ce bloc sculpté à plusieurs reprises depuis 1965 (cf. e.a. *Lineamenti per una storia dell'arte antica nella regione*, in *Abruzzo III*, 1965, 291-292, pl. 2a; *Culture Adriatiche d'Italia*, Rome 1970, 119, fig. 72; *Schede del Museo Nazionale*, Chieti 1971, pl. s.n.; & L. Franchi Dell'Orto, A. La Regina, *Culture Adriatiche di Abruzzo e di Molise*, Rome 1978, 116 et 557, pl. 406) ce visage humain, pour lequel il proposa une datation à l'époque tardo-républicaine, était originellement sculpté sur une paroi rocheuse au-dessus de Rapino et fut détaché lors de travaux d'extraction de pierre. Son rapport avec la Grotta del Colle s'avère donc aussi problématique.

A une époque d'intérêt toujours croissant pour les aspects environnementaux des pratiques dévotionnelles de l'Antiquité, ce 15^e volume du «Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia» sera certainement - malgré les réserves formulées plus haut - bien accueilli par archéologues et historiens.

Frank Van Wouterghem

GERHARD ZIMMER (ed.), *Neue Forschungen zur hellenistischen Plastik. Kolloquium zum 70. Geburtstag von Georg Daltrop*. Eichstätt-Ingolstadt: Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, 2003. 174 pp., num. figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3-937082-07-7.

In June 2002, G. Daltrop got a nice present from his successor and a series of German scholars in the form of a colloquium of which this slim and elegant volume contains the texts. The editor explains both in his preface and the *laudatio* reprinted at the end of the book how Daltrop's interest in sculpture and museum collections was the reason to organise this round table at the jubilee's last working place at Eichstätt. The scholars invited are either pupils or collaborators to projects in the Vatican Museums. Concerning the chosen topic, Zimmer maintains that the study of Hellenistic sculpture is still thought-provoking, when we observe the

origin of an entirely different language of styles and iconographies.

Christian Kunze tackles a monument that often has been seen as an obscene and rather abject theme despite its superb artistic qualities, viz. the Faun Barberini in the Glyptothek at Munich. It once adorned the Gardens of Nero next to the Mausoleum of Hadrian in Rome, but must have originally made part of the garden sculptures in a Hellenistic Greek Dionysiac sanctuary. The question is why the figure is represented so realistically and sexually arousing. Kunze thinks that the onlooker might be a voyeur, but first of all is a human being that innocently encounters a divine being, almost like Aktaion saw the nude Artemis. The satyr is sleeping and only because of this temporary oblivion man can catch him. The accent on the sexual organs (larger and more realistically rendered than in 'Idealplastik') is not a (homo)sexual stimulus, but underlines the character of the mythological figure itself. The motif of sleep as means to bring a deity into contact with mortals returns in the bronze figure of sleeping Eros in New York. This child is also awkwardly exposed to our eyes. We see these persons in their natural state. One should like to add the sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican Museums, but Kunze probably left her out, being a representation of a real mythological theme. Kunze succeeds in reconstructing the perception of the original 'consumers' of this genre of statuary and may even give a clue for our embarrassment when encountering the satyr at Munich: we see a strange figure we should not see. Personally I have the impression that Mallarmé, Debussy and Nijinski surely created the same effect with their evocations of the sleeping faun, which returned during Hans Castorp's musical soirée in Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg*. Whether they based on this statue at Munich is not known.

Hans-Ulrich Cain discusses some Hellenistic examples of 'spendende Götter', apparently the activity during the 'working days' of the title. He maintains that the decrease of belief in the traditional gods of the Greek pantheon made it necessary to create new (or renewed) types of gods' representations which should show a greater activity in favour of man by these gods. Dionysos, for instance, looks like a 'Dienerfigur' and becomes a *technites* similar to the real ones in Hellenistic sanctuaries. The famous image of the Herakles Farnese precedes this notion: the hero is a real, muscular workman, resting after his deeds and with the apples of the Hesperids that are the requisites of his future immortality.

Ralf von den Hoff takes up an aspect studied partly in his previous works, viz. the degree of realism in Hellenistic portraits. The realism of the famous Demosthenes is not a photographic one, being a portrait made some 40 years after the politician's death, but corresponds with what an ancient onlooker was expecting from this person (old age, beard, looks). The diadoch kings also show a combination of realistic and idealistic features, of young vigorous leadership and wrinkles of an experienced dynast. These portraits suggest, what a king should look like. Von den Hoff concludes that the different elements have an autonomous value and the mix of the contrasting characteristics produces the 'realistic' image desired.

Christiane Vorster and Paolo Liverani (the latter is successor of Daltrop, the former working for a long time on sculpture in the Vatican Museums) give an *anteprima* of work in progress. Vorster discusses three Hellenistic statues that will be presented at length in the second volume of her catalogue of the Lateran Collection to be published shortly. Two concern a Nereid on a monster and an Eros on the protome of a horse, dating to the second half of the 2nd century and the late 1st century BC respectively. The most interesting piece is a replica of the Achilles head of the Achilles and Penthesileia group of which we know some Roman copies. She maintains that the head itself is to be dated around 100 BC on the basis of its style and its quality. She also argues that the group itself was invented at that time and that the head may be the original or a master copy: this seems to me a product of circular reasoning. Her choice of the three objects is to show the gradual development from Greek into Roman Hellenism.

Liverani presents the first results of the recent reconstruction of the polychromy of the Augustus of Prima porta, unfortunately with dull black-and-white photographs (see now V. Brinkmann/R. Wünsche, eds., *Bunte Götter. Die Farbigekeit antiker Skulptur*, Munich 2003, 187-191). He concludes that the partial coloration of the surface was to enhance details of the statue like the reliefs on the cuirass. The figure forms a single type, combining the cuirass and 'Hüftmantel' models; the naked feet apparently belong to the latter and indicate the heroic level of the portrayed emperor. The presence of two layers of paint on the fringes of the cuirass' *pteruges* imply a restoration of the statue that should have been exposed over a long time.

Robert Wenning's contribution about the tombs at Petra, finally, has a (too?) lengthy introduction on Petra's history and development. The second part tackles the relief sculptures of the famous Khaznet al-Fira'un, carved around 30 BC, that is not necessarily the tomb of king Malichus. The reliefs are depicted as statues on pedestals standing in the intercolumnia of the various architectural elements. Its programme corresponds with Graeco-Roman funerary belief (Isis like a Demeter, the Dioscuri, Nikai) and less, so Wenning, with the translation of local gods into an idiom of the new power. The explanation of Amazons with weapons as an echo of 'Waffentänze' organised at the kings' funerals seems rather fanciful.

To conclude, Gerhard Zimmer was right: Hellenism still is highly provocative in many respects. Numerous recent publications on sculpture - to limit to this matter addressed in this sort of *Festschrift* - prove this vivid interest.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIE-FRANCOISE BRIGUET avec la participation de DOMINIQUE BRIQUEL, *Les urnes cinéraires étrusques de l'époque hellénistique*. (Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines). Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002. 271 pp., ill.; 27 cm. - ISBN 2-7118-4323-8.

In this *catalogue raisonné* Madame Briguet deals with 72 Hellenistic Etruscan urns (coffins with or without lids, or lids only) in the Louvre: 56 terracotta and 4 stone urns from Chiusi, 11 urns from Volterra, and one from an unknown find spot. Unfortunately, the context of not a single urn is known. Most of them were bought in the nineteenth century, originating from the collections of Durand, Sermolli, Micali, Campana, Gaddi, Vaillant, and more recently from the Guimet collection. Briguet offers a critical review of modern urn studies (pp. 15-30), and her sceptical analysis suggests that many problems regarding the urn production have not completely been resolved. The types of alabaster or *marmo alabastrino*, especially those from Chiusi, deserve thorough chemical analysis. Scholars have not only different opinions on the dates of individual urns (p. 29), but also on the start, the evolution and the end of urn productions at Chiusi and Volterra (p. 30). The influence of possible Etruscan theatre productions is still under debate (p. 160). Briguet rules out the suggestion made by F.-H. Pairault that immigrant Greek artisans made the first urn of a certain series, the so-called prototype (p. 25). Problematic also is the question whether urns made in a series with a simplified or degenerated mythological scene have a specific funerary meaning or are simply ornamental. As for the latest on urns, however, it is evident that the author has not read some recent, very important books and articles. Most relevant for many questions now are B. von Freytag, gen. Lörringhoff, *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon* (1986), D. Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar* (1998), and several articles in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique* (Actes de la table ronde, École Française, Rome 1991), Rome 1993.

Briguet suggests that the mythological scenes show suspense and violence (p. 23), but it is obvious that some scenes have a happy ending (her cat. nrs. 57, 64, 65).

The Chiusine terracotta urns show the following themes: the Brother murder of Eteocles and Polyneices, the Battle of the Hero with the Plough, anonymous battles, a banquet, meetings at the gate of the underworld, klinai, a skylla, a griffon, lion mask, and a comic mask. Most of these urns are cautiously dated in the 2nd century BC, especially in the second half.

The Chiusine stone urns show three themes: warriors kneeling on an altar with a hind on it and a horse in front of it (interpreted by J. Heurgon as a contamination of an Iphigeneia and Troilos scene); the murder of an old man in a sanctuary (Aigisthos?); and five warriors around an altar. As the production of alabaster urns in the Chiusi region started earlier than the creation of serial terracotta urns, they should have been treated first in the catalogue. From the studies of G. Colonna and A. Maggiani it resulted that the alabaster/marble production starts around 275 and ends around 200/190 BC (for literature, see now N.L.C. Stevens, *BABesch* 76, 2001, 101-113). The proposed date of urn no. 58 (140-100 BC) is, therefore, far too late.

The Volterranean alabaster urns show: a Centauromachy, the Death of Oinomaos, the Rape of Helena, Telephos kidnapping Orestes, the Recognition of Paris, the Murder of Agamemnon, and the Voyage in a *carpentum*. Briguet dates them to the 2nd century BC. However, the urn

with the *carpentum* scene (no. 68) may belong to the second half of the 1st century BC (see P. Moscati, Un gruppo di urne volterrane con rappresentazione del 'viaggio agli inferi in *carpentum*', in *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in onore di Massimo Pallottino* II, Rome 1997, 403-423).

At the end of the catalogue all inscriptions are transcribed and thoroughly discussed by Dominique Briquel, using critically H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor* I-II, Tübingen 1991. He throws light upon the social status of the deceased and the inter-local family relations.

As most of the Louvre urns have hardly been published in a scientific way, Briguet's catalogue is a welcome addition to the gradually growing modern corpus of Etruscan urns. Her descriptions are excellent. The black and white photographs are splendid too, although it is a pity that there are no colour images of the terracotta urns as they show many remains of polychromy. Madame Briguet received for her book the *Médaille Georges Perrot*. Her critical attitude is indeed worthy of praise.

L.B. van der Meer

ALESSANDRO GALLO, *Pompei. L'Insula I della regione IX. Settore occidentale*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. VI, 156 pp., ill.; 28 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, 1). – ISBN 88-8265-150-9.

This book deals with *insula* IX 1, one of the transitional *insulae* between the old centre of Pompeii and the later extensions to the east. The largest and most famous house in the block is the House of Epidius Rufus (IX 1, 20). This house, however, is not treated in the present study, which covers only half of the *insula* (the western part), mainly consisting of shops, workshops, and smaller houses. Gallo discusses the history of the excavations (between 1852 and 1867), the wall construction, the floor and wall decoration, the building history, the *instrumentum domesticum*, and the soundings dug in the *insula* to verify the building history. The final chapter, dealing with the position of the *insula* in the town plan, contains the most interesting information. According to Gallo the small *saggi* in the *insula* provide archaeological evidence to support the theories proposed by Stefano De Caro, who thinks that the system of town planning with more or less square blocks on the east side of the Via di Stabia originated earlier than the system with the oblong *insulae* on the Via di Nocera. The finds in the trenches (pottery, amphorae, small kitchen utensils) and the wall construction lead Gallo to date the former group of blocks (squares of ca. 125-130 m) to the first half of the 3rd century BC and the latter (measuring ca. 30 x 90 m) to the second half of the 3rd century.

Regarding the arrangement of the building lots in the *insula*, Gallo discerns on the west side 5 lots, oriented from west to east, all originally of equal length (ca. 26 m.), but with different widths. An extensive analysis of the measurements would have been very useful to support his theories about the building history, but Gallo only considers the original measure-

ments briefly (p. 91). There he states that the total area of the 5 lots measures 94 x 226 Oscan feet (26 x 61.5 m), with lot widths of 51' (14 m), 26' (7.30 m), 49' (13.40 m), 65' (18 m), and 35' (9.75 m) respectively. In a later phase the sizes of lots 4 and 5 were changed, due to the construction of the House of Epidius Rufus in the middle of the *insula*, covering the whole length of the block.

The book is let down by its plans. The only overall plan of the *insula* is a barely legible one from the time of Fiorelli (1870s), which is nice as an antiquarian illustration, but a modern publication surely requires an updated plan. As a matter of fact the book contains such a new (partial) plan, reproduced on p. 10, to show the wall construction in the western part of the *insula*. Unfortunately the explanatory legend to this plan is rather unclear, because the shadings used for e.g. *opus vittatum*, *opus a telaio* and *opus quadratum* resemble each other too closely. For greater clarity it would have been better either to execute the plan in colour, or to give it a legend with shadings that are not derived from the construction types. Finally, it would have been useful to include a large plan showing the position of the *insula* within the town plan of Pompeii, which would contribute much to the understanding of the discussion of town planning in chapter 5.

All in all, however, Gallo has presented a valuable study. Another part of a Pompeian *insula* has been documented, yielding new information for the chronology of the town plan. It is praiseworthy that he has presented part of his results, rather than waiting until he had studied the whole *insula*, although this does mean that for now only a few 'definite' conclusions can be drawn and a total overview is not possible. Hopefully such a generic view will be presented in the second volume about this *insula*, which preferably will also give more attention to the plans and to the metrology.

Richard de Kind

CHRISTOPH P.J. OHLIG, *De Aquis Pompeiorum. Das Castellum Aquae in Pompeji: Herkunft, Zuleitung und Verteilung des Wassers*, (Circumvesuviana, 4, J.A.K.E. de Waele & E.M. Moormann (eds.)). Nijmegen 2001. 483 S., Abb., CD mit Foto-Anhang in Farbe; 26.5 cm. – ISBN 3-8311-2614-3.

At last, about 100 years after its discovery, the first comprehensive and complete study of the *Castellum Aquae* (hence CA) in Pompeii has appeared. Christoph Ohlig has written a superb analysis of the water distribution center in Pompeii, which is much more than the story of the building itself. Ohlig takes the reader on many excursions: from theories about the family tree of the manuscripts of Vitruvius to the sources of the water supply in the Apennines, and from the mineralogical analysis of the water sediments to the reconstruction of the way in which the moulds for the water channel were used and re-used.

The major conclusions of Ohlig's study are as follows. The CA is definitely NOT the *castellum* described by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* 8.6.1-2. The building has been connected to this passage ever since its discovery, often without question, but Ohlig shows convincingly

that Vitruvius is referring to a different type of construction (pp. 33-48).

The present CA is the result of two building stages, corresponding to two different periods in the water supply of Pompeii: 1. In the first stage, dated between 80 and 40 BC, the CA was an open, nymphaeum-like construction, with a basin for the collection and distribution of water. In this period Pompeii received its water through a channel coming from the Apennines, in the area of Avella. The water supply was abundant for parts of the year, but not always reliable. 2. Around 20 BC the building was remodeled into its present state. In the basin several constructions were made to regulate the water flow, due to a change in the source of the supply. In this period the Serino watercourse was constructed, to supply water to Misenum and Neapolis and to regulate the water systems in Campania. The old Avella supply became linked to the new supply from Serino, and Pompeii now received (combined) water from two sources. The water channel to the CA remained the same and contained water throughout the year, but the amount was much reduced. This forced the people of Pompeii to improve the division and regulation of the water. The ingenious and subtle constructions in the basin made it possible to divide the water fairly over the town in periods of scarcity. To avoid abuse it was necessary to cover the basin and to be able to lock the building.

Ohlig has documented his conclusions extensively and every detail has been examined to the bone. For example, he has built a scale model of the basin to study all the possible water flows. As a former teacher he is able to present the complex information to his audience in a lucid way. He has built three layers in his book: for those who wish to view the results quickly, there is a concise summary (chapter VII, pp. 269-277); the interested reader can go to different levels in the preceding chapters; and for those who really want to know every detail, Ohlig has added a large quantity of appendices.

I want to make a few minor remarks on the content. On pp. 72-75 Ohlig discusses the junction of the two water courses (Avella and Serino). He assumes that at the junction a kind of collection basin existed, from which the flows were led in different directions. He shows two parallels for such a collection point, one, of smaller size, from Pompeii (lead pipes with a 'cassette'), and the other from the Eiffel waterworks at Eiserfey (two channels from Urft and Weyer merging into one channel towards Cologne). However, in both cases the flow is from two channels into one, not from *two* into *two*. It still remains unclear how the flows from the north (Avella) and the east (Serino) were merged and how the pressure in the channels was regulated in order to diminish the water supply to Pompeii in favor of the flow towards Misenum and Neapolis.

On p. 243 the relief from the house of L. Caecilius Iucundus is used to reconstruct the exterior of the CA. This relief, unfortunately stolen, shows part of Pompeii, including the CA, during the earthquake of AD 62. The depiction of the CA differs in some points from the existing building. Ohlig clarifies some of these differences on pp. 245-246, but there are more: for instance, the middle arch is shown as much wider on the relief

than in reality. It would have been useful to examine this source more extensively, as the only existing picture of the CA from antiquity - especially as Ohlig has shown that a large part of the upper exterior wall has apparently been restored (Abb. VI.53.a).

At first glance the book looks well edited, but it takes a while to get used to the many different headings and font styles. The book certainly deserves a monumental edition in a larger format, which could incorporate, for example, a folding page showing the complete course of the water channel (at present the reader is instructed to tear Abb. I.18-19 out of the book and glue them together). But such an edition would mean an increase in the price, which would conflict with the author's intention to produce an affordable book. In this respect he has clearly succeeded. It is a print-on-demand edition, obtainable from regular book stores or - more cheaply - directly from the author (e-mail address: Christoph.Ohlig@t-online.de). For € 50,- plus postage, one receives the book and the accompanying Photo CD (with all the photos from the book in color!). It is not much for a book like this, which can be seen as a standard work on the water supply of Pompeii.

Richard de Kind

GAETANO MESSINEO (ed.), *Ad Gallinas Albas Villa di Livia*. Roma «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. 234 pp., 255 figg., 5 tavv.; 29 cm. (Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma, Supplementi 8) - ISBN 88-8265-167-3.

Nella premessa al suo lavoro, Gaetano Messineo dichiara di voler tracciare un quadro delle indagini relative alla Villa di Livia a Prima Porta, con un'attenzione particolare a specifici elementi del complesso che saranno opportunamente collocati nel contesto complessivo. Le categorie di reperti che vengono presentate sono definite dal curatore 'strettamente legate all'architettura'. Nel primo capitolo (9-16) L. Calvelli e G. Messineo illustrano le testimonianze scritte e la storia degli scavi che ha inizio nel tardo XVI secolo, con una prima campagna di scavo ufficiale svoltasi nel 1863. Una dopo l'altra furono allora rinvenute la statua di Augusto di Prima Porta e la famosa sala con pitture a giardino. Il secondo capitolo (*Storia e topografia*, 17-22) prende in esame soprattutto la storia antica della zona circostante e i materiali da costruzione presenti nell'area. Questa parte rimane inorganica e brani del terzo capitolo sulla storia recente avrebbero avuto in questo punto più felice collocazione (il riferimento è a un passo sul bombardamento del 1944 e a uno sulla pessima condizione dei resti al momento in cui furono avviati gli scavi nel 1983).

Il terzo capitolo, incentrato sull'architettura del complesso (G. Messineo, M. Carrara e P. Carbonari), analizza volta per volta una porzione della villa, procedendo da sud verso nord. Alcune componenti importanti della villa, tuttavia, non vengono quasi prese in considerazione, come nel caso dell'atrio, mentre altre vengono descritte in modo più che esauriente con una serie di digressioni molto dettagliate, peraltro non sempre del tutto intelleggibili. Meglio sarebbe stato

se gli autori si fossero limitati a una descrizione dei resti visibili senza focalizzare lo sguardo su determinati elementi della villa, con il risultato di una trattazione fortemente disuguale. Grande attenzione viene data infatti a certi ambienti del complesso termale, come l'ambiente 26 (pp. 47-55), mentre nel caso degli ambienti 44-55 del medesimo complesso l'analisi viene esaurita in sole quattro pagine. Purtroppo una descrizione dei resti chiara e improntata all'equilibrio è e rimane ancora un desiderato. Il fatto poi che una serie di stanze nella pianta non risultino contrassegnate da alcun numero, sebbene siano oggetto di trattazione, non contribuisce certo alla comprensibilità dell'insieme. Peccato anche che manchi una sintesi, un discorso complessivo che, raccogliendo le descrizioni delle singole parti della villa, sia capace di fornire un quadro chiaro dello sviluppo della struttura attraverso l'antichità. Una parte della villa che non viene affatto presa in esame è la sala con pitture a giardino che ora si trovano a Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, a Roma. Si veda per una recente trattazione della sala il bel lavoro di Salvatore Settis [ed.], *Le pareti ingannevoli. La Villa di Livia e la pittura di giardino*, Milano 2002, e il testo di poco precedente di Jane Clark Reeder, *The Villa of Livia Ad Gallinas Albas. A Study in the Augustan Villa and Garden*, Providence 2001. Anche Reeder si sofferma in particolare sull'ambiente ipogeo, ma non offre grandi novità al riguardo. I dipinti del II secolo d.C., pertinenti alla sezione meridionale della villa, sono stati accolti nell'apparato delle illustrazioni ma non ricevono alcuna attenzione nell'ambito del testo (si veda per una breve illustrazione dell'argomento: G. Messineo (ed.), *La Via Flaminia*, Roma 1991, 237-246). Questi dipinti sono di alto livello qualitativo e dunque una loro disamina rappresenterebbe un contributo rilevante alla conoscenza della storia tarda della villa.

Alla sezione dedicata all'architettura seguono sei appendici che presentano materiali di rinvenimento (91-149): in successione vengono passate in rassegna murature, bolli laterizi, decorazioni architettoniche fittili, frammenti pittorici, decorazioni pavimentali ed elementi architettonici lapidei. L'esame dell'insieme dei reperti è senz'altro utile ma troppo eterogeneo e discontinuo, con alcune notevoli lacune, quali la mancata descrizione dell'ultima categoria o la troppo episodica collocazione dei materiali nei rispettivi contesti di provenienza.

Il quarto capitolo (151-200) fornisce i risultati di uno scavo all'esterno della villa, ai piedi della rupe, di una cisterna romana (26,5 x 7,10 m.), incorporata in un secondo momento nella struttura nota come Casale di S. Maria in Via Lata. Il crollo di questa cisterna nel I secolo d.C. ne ha provocato il riempimento con numerose anfore e altro vasellame, lucerne e vetro nonché una moneta di Tiberio; il tutto viene illustrato con dovizia di particolari, sollevando l'interrogativo sull'opportunità di inserire un capitolo del genere in un libro con questo titolo.

Nel quinto capitolo A. Klynne e P. Liljenstolpe (201-207) offrono un breve resoconto dei primi risultati degli scavi condotti in due giardini del complesso. Anzitutto viene preso in esame il piccolo giardino a sud-est dell'atrio, dove sono stati rinvenute tra l'altro 22 *ollae perforatae* o vasi forati, quindi è la volta di quello

grande, sul lato nord del complesso, dove è venuta alla luce una serie di muretti pertinenti a un terrazzamento, interpretato come giardino pensile con bordure all'interno dei muretti e davanti un euripus. Qui sono state trovate almeno 30 *ollae perforatae*. In sé interessante, ma a mio avviso estranea all'ambito di questo lavoro, è una breve appendice sul rinvenimento di un'ostrica negli scavi. Di rilievo l'ampia e ricca bibliografia che chiude il libro (214-227).

Seppure dotata di un'elegante veste editoriale e corredata di illustrazioni di alto livello, l'opera, curata da e in gran parte realizzata da G. Messineo, manca l'obiettivo di fornire una visione d'insieme della villa. Si rimane dunque in attesa di una monografia che illustri in modo conveniente tutti i resti della villa nel loro contesto e in una prospettiva cronologica, con uno sguardo attento anche ai più recenti ritrovamenti.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

LISA MARALDI, *Falerio*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 113 pp., 108 figs. (Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica ; XIII suppl.) (Città Romane; 5) – ISBN 88-8265-203-3.

Cette belle monographie nous présente une carte archéologique de l'aire urbaine et suburbaine de *Falerio*, situé en plein centre de la *Regio V, Picenum*. Cette petite ville occupait une zone plane entre deux affluents du fleuve Tenna, au pied du village actuel de Falerone (prov. Ascoli Piceno, Italie Centrale), à S.-E., dans le hameau Piane di Falerone. Le gros de l'ouvrage consiste en un inventaire raisonné de la documentation actuellement visible (parfois incorporée dans des constructions modernes) ou occasionnellement aperçue et enregistrée dans le courant du siècle passé. Mis à part les restes de quelques édifices ou constructions d'une certaine ampleur (théâtre, amphithéâtre, citernes, édifices à destination thermale, villa suburbaine), il s'agit surtout d'éléments isolés ou fragmentaires (murs, pavements, égouts, dallages de rue, tombes,...) mais pour cela pas moins importants du point de vue topographique. La carte archéologique proprement dite est précédée par quelques notes introductives sur l'histoire de la recherche, les sources littéraires et épigraphiques et la géomorphologie du territoire. Dans un chapitre intitulé 'lecture critique de la documentation' sont abordés de façon concise mais complète tous les aspects de la topographie urbaine et suburbaine, se servant à la fois de la documentation archéologique rassemblée et des sources écrites. Le chapitre final de 'conclusions' présente un aperçu chronologique de l'occupation du site de la préhistoire jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

Vu l'absence d'un mur d'enceinte, l'étendue de l'aire urbaine de *Falerio* ne peut être déterminée que par des éléments naturels comme les deux affluents du Tenna et par la présence d'éléments à caractère nettement sub-urbain comme des sépultures, une villa et peut-être aussi l'amphithéâtre. Avec une surface d'à peine 8 ha (encore un peu inférieure à celle du petit centre samnite de *Saepinum*) la ville examinée appartient indubitablement à la catégorie des «centres mineurs» de l'Italie antique, en l'occurrence un centre de marché comme il ressort de quelques documents épigraphi-

ques faisant mention d'un *ponderarium* et d'un *forum pecuarium*, malheureusement toujours pas localisables de façon certaine. Parmi les sources littéraires et épigraphiques sont mentionnés également plusieurs documents concernant l'organisation agraire du territoire et concernant le réseau routier, mais ces aspects ne sont cependant pas valorisés dans le chapitre de synthèse. Si pour les cadastres de zones agraires éloignées du centre urbain cette absence est certainement justifiable, le nombre relativement important de milliaires et d'autres inscriptions routières aurait toutefois pu fournir l'occasion d'aborder la situation de *Falerio* comme noeud routier à l'intérieur du *Picenum*. Malgré l'intensité de la recherche durant ces dernières décennies, le réseau routier de cette région reste toujours assez mal connu, en particulier les routes de l'intérieur comme p.ex. le trajet de *Ausculum* à *Potentia* qui devait traverser probablement la petite ville de *Falerio*.

Mis à part le manque d'indexes, qui auraient éventuellement pu faciliter la consultation de cet ouvrage, il s'agit indubitablement d'une publication exemplaire, dont le sujet est développé de façon très systématique.

Frank Van Wouterghem

IORELLA FESTA FARINA (et al.), *Tra Damasco e Roma. L'architettura di Apollodoro nella cultura classica*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2001. XXI+2x284 pp. (Italian and Arabic texts), 5 figures in the text; LXIII plates (= 98 figures), ISBN 88-8265-171-1.

From December 2001 to January 2002, an exhibition at Damascus had as its focal point Apollodorus of Damascus, the court architect of Trajan, and - at least for the beginning of his reign - of Hadrian. The exhibition was a cooperative effort of Syria and Italy, Rome in particular. In this context, the book under discussion was presented, a substantial bilingual work in two volumes, consisting of over 600 pages. The Italian and Arabic texts are separated by the images. The work is divided into 5 sections.

Sezione I (pp. 1-30) discusses the individual Apollodorus. The builder lived from ca. AD 60 to 125. Only one indication survives for the years in Syria; his name forms part of the inscription on a column, which was found during restoration of the great Mosque of Damascus, and was once part of the temple of Zeus there. The name itself is a hellenised form of the Nabatean Abodat. It is possible that Trajan met the architect in Syria, where his father had been *legatus pro praetore* and he himself *tribunus legionis* between AD 73 and 76. After the Dacian Wars, during which Apollodorus was, amongst other things, responsible for building the Roman bridge over the Danube, he worked in Rome. He was furthermore the author of a work on siege engines, which is both stylistically and grammatically very weak, indicating that Greek will not have been his native language. The four short contributions to this section are unaltered reprints from *L'Arte dell'assedio di Apollodoro di Damasco* (Rome 1999). Of these contributions, the piece by Leila Nesta on Apollodorus' portrait is highly speculative.

Sezione II (pp. 31-147) analyses the different edifices that Apollodorus built for Trajan. According to Dio

Cassius, those would have been the Forum and Baths of Trajan, and the Odeion, which as a rule is attributed to Domitian. The articles in this section examine these and other buildings. Recent excavations have contributed to considerable progress in our knowledge of these structures. Silvana Rizzo reviews the history of excavations of the imperial Fora, providing insights into the excavations of the last two decennia. Roberto Meneghini, in his contribution on the Forum of Trajan, documents the striking finds of recent years in that area. The Mercati Traianei are dealt with by Lucrezia Ungaro, who does not only study the history of the complex in antiquity, but also in later history, including its future function as a permanent museum of the imperial Fora. She differentiates between the lower and higher sections of the complex, and interprets the central part as seat of the *procurator fori traiani*. She is, however, rather vague on the function of the complex as a whole: 'L'immagine complessiva che emerge è quella di edifici con funzioni diverse, ma in qualche modo correlate.' Rita Volpe and Giovanni Caruso treat Trajan's Baths, including recent finds in this area such as the 'città dipinta'. In his piece on Trajan's harbour, Fausto Zevi mainly discusses the prehistory, examining the harbour itself only parenthetically. The contribution by Maria Grazia Fiore and Zaccaria Mari analyses the villa in Arcinazzo Romano, which is attributed to Trajan. This last piece suffers heavily from a lack of illustrations, making it difficult to comprehend. In general, it is unfortunate that the articles in this section do not examine the different sets of buildings in a more standardised way; the chosen approaches differ widely. The relation to Apollodorus, however, is always taken into account. In fact, an important role in the construction by Apollodorus can only be guaranteed for the Forum and Baths of Trajan. Interestingly, Sandro de Maria, in his paper on 'i monumenti onorati di Traiano' (136-147), really looks for the person of Apollodorus as architect of buildings other than those mentioned by Dio.

In *Sezione III* (pp. 149-194) the monuments from Hadrian's reign in which the authors recognise Apollodorus' style are put to the fore. The notion that the arch of Constantine had a precursor from Hadrian's reign has, by now, been superseded. Discussed monuments are the Pantheon (Alessandro Viscogliosi), the Villa Adriana in Tivoli (Anna Maria Reggiani, who puts forward an approach for further research, and Stefano Gizzi, who discusses cupola building) and the Temple of Venus and Roma (Claudia Del Monti), mainly emphasising recent restoration interventions.

Sezione IV (pp. 195-245) reviews recent analyses of the Column of Trajan. The most substantial contribution is by Cinzia Conti, who puts forward some technical aspects and recognises, through meticulous attention for detail, five main sculptors and two assistants. A further three articles deal with aspects of the 'Nachleben', including the history of the casts by Clotilde D'Amato.

Sezione V (pp. 247-284) is wholly dedicated to the practice of making casts, starting point of which form the 16 new casts that were made for Damascus from the old ones in the Museo della Civiltà Romana (amongst others by Costantino Meucci) and to the description of these 16 key scenes on the Column (Giuliana Calcani).

The sections are not always suitably balanced. Nor

do articles show clear agreements as to uniformity of the pieces within individual sections. The Greek, furthermore, is problematic, especially as far as accents are concerned. There is no general bibliography, though one is occasionally referred to in abbreviated form, cf. notes 8-10 on p. 47. The papers also almost continuously lack references to the images, and some contributions are unfortunately only scarcely illustrated, or not at all. Cause of this seems to be a very hurried production process. This criticism notwithstanding, the volume forms a good introduction to Trajanic architecture, and to the person of Apollodorus, who was professionally closely connected to it.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

CLAUDIA LIEDTKE, *Nebenraumdekorationen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in Italien*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003. IX+315 pp., 58 tavv., 15 figg.; 28 cm (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Ergh. 31). – ISBN 3-11-017539-8.

Punto di partenza di quest'opera – che è il testo, leggermente modificato nella pubblicazione, di una tesi discussa nell'anno 1997-1998 alla *Freie Universität* di Berlino – sono taluni grandi cambiamenti verificatisi nella pittura romana del II secolo d.C., in particolare nello schema compositivo e nell'uso del colore: da quel momento emerge una chiara differenziazione tra decori con fondo policromo e quelli a fondo monocromo, essendo il primo gruppo applicato fondamentalmente negli 'Haupträume', gli ambienti principali, il secondo nei 'Nebenräume', quelli secondari. Nel saggio le decorazioni su fondo monocromo sono trattate separatamente. Giacché la cronologia delle pitture è quanto mai discordante nella moderna letteratura sull'argomento, Liedtke presenta anzitutto una tipologia, in base alla quale effettua un'analisi stilistica che le consente di formulare un'ipotesi di cronologia. Davvero degno di nota il fatto che la studiosa abbia dedicato un'apposita monografia alla mappatura di questi materiali non molto significativi sotto il profilo estetico.

Liedtke distingue quattro gruppi tipologici: 'Ädikuladekorationen', 'Felderdekorationen', 'Rahmendekorationen' e 'Lineardekorationen', rispettivamente decorazioni 'a edicola', 'a pannelli', 'a cornice' e 'lineari'. Data l'impossibilità di datarli con precisione, essa propone una datazione complessiva articolata in quattro periodi: adrianeo, antoniniano, - a sua volta suddiviso in primo (140-170) e tardo (170-190) -, severiano e post-severiano.

Illustrato nella prima parte del lavoro il quadro di riferimento dell'indagine, segue nella seconda parte quello che è a mio parere il catalogo completo (13-192), dove le informazioni fornite per ciascun ambiente dipinto, senza ambire alla completezza, si concentrano a ragione su quanto è necessario all'analisi. I primi ad essere presi in esame sono gli esempi da Ostia, dove è stato rinvenuto il maggior quantitativo di materiale, si passa quindi a Roma e infine al resto d'Italia, a seguire una selezione di pitture pertinenti a catacombe e tombe della città eterna. Le descrizioni nel catalogo sono in genere accurate, tuttavia si prestano a qualche appunto. Certamente non monocromi sono Tivoli, il Giardino dello Stadio, ambiente L (cat. 53.1); Alba Fucens, Villa

urbana, ambiente B e D (rispettivamente 69.1-2). La Casa a Giardino III 9, 16, ambiente 6, a Ostia (19.1), indicata quale esempio di decorazione 'a cornice', ne presenta piuttosto una 'aedicola'. Discutibile anche la datazione, tratta da Mielsch, degli aurighi, nell'omonimo Caseggiato a Ostia, al primo periodo antoniniano (v. S. Mols, *MededRom* 58, 1999, 364). L'obiezione più rilevante riguarda in fondo tutte le decorazioni 'a cornice' a Ostia che, per la marcata presenza di ampie incorniciature intorno ai pannelli, devono essere annoverate piuttosto tra i dipinti policromi. Gli esempi in causa sono i numeri di catalogo 18.1-2 (risp. Casa delle Muse, ambiente 9 e 16), cat. 20 (Caseggiato degli Aurighi: 9 esempi), 22 (Caseggiato del Serapide, cortile, punto di partenza è una foto di scavo da riferire in realtà al Caseggiato degli Aurighi, ambiente 29, parete nord, non adrianeo ma antoniniano; quest'inversione torna regolarmente nello studio), 25.1 (Caseggiato III 16, 2); 34.1 (Caseggiato IV 9, 4); 41.1 (magazzino, luogo di rinvenimento sconosciuto).

Nella terza parte (193-300) si procede all'analisi, che muove anzitutto da un esame tipo-cronologico. Alla stragrande maggioranza delle pitture viene assegnata una datazione di natura stilistica sulla base dell'impiego del colore, dei modi di raffigurazione di ghirlande e candelabri e dell'elemento di delimitazione dei pannelli. Il rischio di una simile analisi e della cronologia che ne deriva è di dare poco o nessun peso al fatto che taluni pittori si attengono a una certa tradizione più a lungo di altri. Per il gruppo degli ornamenti 'a edicola' Liedtke ritiene di grande importanza l'apparato decorativo su fondo rosso del corridoio 29 della Casa di Giove e Ganimede (cat. 5.2), a motivo di un graffito che deve risalire al 190-191. Essa data pertanto il dipinto al periodo tardo antoniniano, mentre il graffito non fornisce in effetti che un *terminus ante quem*, come la studiosa stessa già segnala a pagina 201 in maniera più generica: 'Es ist jedoch ohne weiteres denkbar, daß es sich bei den rotgrundigen Malereien in Korridoren um eine Dekorationsform handelt, die nicht nur in spätantonscher, sondern in antoninischer Zeit generell verbreitet war ...', le pitture su fondo rosso in questione, dunque, sono con buona probabilità forme decorative ampiamente diffuse già in epoca antoniniana. Per quanto riguarda le decorazioni 'a pannelli' (211-224), Liedtke data le stanze c e c', ubicate sotto San Giovanni in Laterano a Roma, all'epoca severiana, mentre queste ultime, senza dubbio anteriori alla costruzione dei *Castra* per gli *equites singulares* nel 193, risalgono probabilmente al 180 circa (v. S. Mols/E. Moormann, *Le pitture romane - Frammenti e resti in situ*, in P. Liverani (a cura di), *Laterano 1. Scavi sotto la Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano. I materiali*, Città del Vaticano 1998, 115-131, soprattutto 127-130).

La seconda parte dell'analisi viene definita da Liedtke come una 'Epochenorientierte Auswertung' (235-278), un'indagine per epoche che passa in rassegna le decorazioni degli ambienti principali e di quelli secondari nell'ambito dei periodi individuati dalla studiosa. Interessante è la constatazione che, a partire dall'età severiana, gli apparati decorativi degli ambienti principali e di quelli secondari appaiono completamente indipendenti gli uni dagli altri e mostrano una propria autonoma evoluzione. A chiusura di questa fase dell'esame segue uno sguardo al IV e al V secolo.

Alcuni edifici, spiega l'autore, presentano pitture policrome negli ambienti principali e invece monocrome in quelli secondari, mentre altri hanno in tutti gli ambienti decori monocromi. Il secondo gruppo, di difficile spiegazione, in effetti verrebbe a cadere qualora le decorazioni 'a cornice' vengano classificate come policrome, rendendo non pertinenti certe osservazioni come (p. 255): 'Es ist von daher offensichtlich, daß den Rahmendekorationen ein höherer Stellenwert als den Felder- und Adikuladekorationen beigemessen wurde', secondo cui alle decorazioni 'a cornice' veniva riconosciuto chiaramente un valore maggiore rispetto a quelle 'a pannelli' e 'ad edicola'. Tra gli esempi di decorazioni di ambienti principali di epoca antoniniana non compaiono le pitture della Villa di Livia a Prima Porta (si veda ad es. G. Messineo (a cura di), *La Via Flaminia*, Roma 1991, 237-246).

L'analisi si conclude con la parte dedicata alla valutazione socio-storica (279-300). Liedtke richiama l'attenzione su una certa omogeneità nell'ornamentazione di ambienti principali e secondari pertinenti ad abitazioni adiacenti. Giacché qui l'affittuario non può in alcun modo aver influito sulla decorazione, la studiosa imputa questo fatto a una standardizzazione diffusa. Essa constata inoltre una gerarchia nelle decorazioni monocrome: quelle con fondo rosso o giallo erano più importanti di quelle con fondo bianco: nelle abitazioni più piccole, come nel caso dei due appartamenti della Casa di Annio a Ostia, decorati in maniera pressoché identica, erano presenti esclusivamente pitture su fondo bianco. Liedtke sposa la vecchia tesi secondo cui più in alto si saliva nelle *insulae* e più gli ambienti erano poveri e ritiene (p. 300) che eventuali ornamentazioni qui non potessero essere che modestissime. A sostegno di quest'idea vengono anche qui citati passi tratti da Marziale e Giovenale, che però descrivono la situazione a Roma e rispetto ai quali possono essere chiamate in causa anche parole di segno positivo sull'abitare ai piani alti (Vitruvio 2.8.17). La presenza di decorazioni 'a cornice' al terzo piano, il più alto conservatosi, del Caseggiato degli Aurighi, di valore pari a quelle rinvenute al pianterreno (Mols 1999, 360), dimostra che a Ostia non vi sono indicazioni che le cose stessero effettivamente così.

Alcuni errori fastidiosi in questo lavoro, peraltro estremamente interessante, sono stati rilevati nelle espressioni in lingua straniera, e particolarmente in latino: e così *opus laterizium* deve essere *opus latericium* (97 e 161): *equites singulares* sarà *equites singulares* (125); e *castrum peregrina* senz'altro *castra peregrina*.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

SUSANNA OGNIBENE, *Umm al-Rasas: La chiesa di Santo Stefano ed il «problema iconofobico»*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2002. 519 pp., ill.; 25 cm (Studia archaeologica 114). – ISBN 88-8265-145-2.

For over half a century, archaeological research in the former Roman provinces of Palestina and Arabia has come across the phenomenon of the deliberate and systematic destruction of images representing living creatures in ancient Christian churches. Father Michele Piccirillo, the leading expert on early church decorations

in the Trans-Jordan area, revived the question in 1996 (Iconofobia o iconoclastia nelle chiese di Giordania? in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente, Studi in onore di Fernanda de'Maffei*, Roma 1996, 173-186). Piccirillo emphasizes the differences between Byzantine iconoclasm, directed against the sacred images of Christ and the saints on panels and walls, and what he calls iconofobia: the unpromising destruction of all things animate in the floor mosaics of Near Eastern churches.

The monography written by Susanna Ognibene is in fact a detailed elaboration of Piccirillo's sketch of the problem. The author has focussed her study on one of the most important churches excavated by the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, St. Stephen's in Umm al-Rasas, the ancient Roman garrison town of Kastron Mefaa, south of Amman. St. Stephen's is part of a complex consisting of four churches in the periphery of the outer city, north of the *castrum*. With five other buildings for Christian worship they bear eloquent witness to the flowering of the city, part of the diocese of Madaba, in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods. All these monuments have lain in ruins since the city was abandoned, probably in the 9th century. Mosaic floors, dated between 587 and 756, have been uncovered in six churches. St. Stephen's possesses the most stunning ensemble of them, splendidly published by - again - Piccirillo (M. Piccirillo, E. Alliata *et al.*, *Umm al-Rasas, Mayfa'ah I. Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, Jerusalem 1994).

The aim of Ognibene's study is to document meticulously the process of destruction and repair of the figurative decorations in one building, in order to elucidate the modes of operation and the underlying motives of the 'iconophobes'. The first three chapters summarize the essential evidence regarding the region, the city and the church and complex of St. Stephen's. Chapter IV offers a detailed description of the well-preserved mosaic floors that cover the entire area of the church. The fifth chapter, on the archaeological evidence of the iconophobic interventions, is the core of the book. It presents the results of the detailed analyses included in the catalogue and compares these with evidence from other churches. Chapter VI discusses the literary sources regarding iconoclasm in the Byzantine and Muslim spheres. The general conclusions are followed by the extensive catalogue (310 pages), describing all the elements in the mosaics with animate figures. A list of all known churches in the region with mosaics, a bibliography and various indices complete the book. The volume itself is physically solid and typographically well executed.

The catalogue contains the working material of this study. It has more than 130 entries, arranged according to the parts of the church: without doubt this is a complete corpus of the living beings depicted in St. Stephen's mosaics. All entries have a description of the original iconography, an account of the 'intervento iconofobico' and whenever possible comparative 'confronti' with related representations in other churches. The entries are illustrated by a photograph and an illuminating line drawing, the latter explaining the extent of the iconoclastic intervention. It becomes clear that all human figures in the donor panels were completely erased, whereas in the Nilotic and pastoral scenes, the purging concentrated on the heads. Interestingly enough, the

explicit nudity of the Nilotic figures was not considered offensive, since the genitals were left intact while the faces were removed (e.g. B12). In the same way, the animals - large and small - in panels and borders have been affected by the gouging out of faces and frequently other projecting members. The cases in which the animals' heads have been preserved may be accidental, with some exceptions (e.g. C2). After the destruction of the most 'breathing' components of the representations, the voids were immediately repaired with the same tesserae, without any particular design or at the very most with some awkward ornamental motif. This repair aimed not only to prevent the surface from decaying, but obviously also to reintegrate the compositional and colouristic coherence of the panels. There is no doubt that these acts of destruction and subsequent repair were carried out with a view to continued religious use of the buildings; hence the Christians themselves are the most probable agents.

Ognibene establishes that the datable disfigurements of mosaics took place after 718 and before 762 and that more than one third of the 150 churches with mosaics were affected by iconoclastic interventions. Hence, the beginning of the 'iconophobic' movement in the Christian communities of the Umayyad state coincides chronologically with the imperial policy of iconoclasm in the Byzantine empire.

Having taken note of the precise procedure of disfigurement in one church, the reader of the book under review will have become eager to learn more about the cultural and religious motives and impact of this episode in Muslim-dominated Christianity, and about the connections with Byzantine iconoclasm. But in this respect, Ognibene's study is disappointing. Apart from some speculative proposals, the author adds little to earlier studies (among which *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule: an historical and archaeological study* by Robert Schick, Princeton 1995, deserves to be highlighted).

In general, the author relies heavily on the work of her immediate predecessors, sometimes in a remarkably passive way, for example in accepting all the common symbolic explanations of iconographical motifs as if they constitute a well-established and indisputable canon (ch. IV.2). Another flaw is the large amount of repetition in the chapters and catalogue entries. A sceptical reader may even wonder what original contribution to our knowledge can be expected from the discussion of numerous parallel and nearly identical cases in the catalogue. I prefer to leave this question open, out of admiration for the detailed documentation offered here. Ognibene's close-up confirms and adds depth to the results of earlier publications, acquaints us with the intimate particulars of one magnificent monument and thereby intensifies our interest in the religious and artistic developments of a world in transition.

Sible de Blaauw

BARBARA ZIMMERMANN, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003. 272 S., 92 s/w-Abb., 8 Farbabb.; 25 cm. – ISBN 3-89500-319-0.

Gegenstand dieses Buches ist der berühmte Codex Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vind.theol.gr.31, besser bekannt als Wiener Genesis, eine der bedeutendsten illustrierten Handschriften überhaupt, die durch B. Zimmermann eine hervorragende Analyse erfahren hat. Die Arbeit ist in zwei Teile gegliedert: In einen Überblick über die antike Buchmalerei und in die eigentliche Untersuchung des Codex'. Vorangestellt ist ein Kapitel zur Forschungsgeschichte der antiken Buchmalerei und zur Methodik. Die Frage, die die Forschung der frühchristlichen narrativen Illustration am meisten beschäftigt, lautet: 'Ab wann gab es illustrierte Bücher narrativen Inhalts und wie sahen diese aus?' Die Autorin übt vor allem Kritik an die These Weitzmanns und seiner Anhänger, die von der Existenz jüdischer illustrierter Bücher ausgehen. Die von Weitzmann entwickelte Methode der Bildkritik analog zur philologischen Textkritik lehnt B. Zimmermann nicht ab, plädiert jedoch für ihre korrekte Anwendung.

Die Autorin gibt einen sorgfältig aufgebauten Überblick über die spätantike Buchmalerei, der folgende vier Kategorien umfasst: Die wissenschaftliche Illustration, die illustrierten literarischen Werke, die Illustration biblischer Texte, und mittelalterliche Bibelhandschriften, deren Archetyp in der Spätantike vermutet wird. Die Verschiedenheit der Illustrationssysteme in der Spätantike wertet die Autorin als ein Zeichen für eine Zeit des Neubeginns. Demnach gab es keine stufenweise Entwicklung vom textgebundenen Bild zu einer vom Text losgelösten, ganzseitigen Miniatur, wie Weitzmann sie rekonstruierte. Zimmermann schließt die Existenz von kontinuierenden Friesen in Buchrollen nicht aus. Diese Buchrollen hätten ein völlig anderes Aussehen als jenes, das Weitzmann vorschlug, und es gibt keinen Grund, ihre Existenz früher als in der Spätantike anzunehmen.

Die Untersuchung der Wiener Genesis beginnt mit einem Kapitel über die Forschungsgeschichte. Die Herkunft des Codex' aus dem syro-palästinischen Raum und seine Datierung ins 6. Jh. stellt die Autorin nicht in Frage. Das große Problem bei der Untersuchung der Handschrift ist die Annahme, dass die Wiener Genesis auf eine jüdische Vorlage im Rollenstil zurückgeht. Der Forschungsgeschichte folgt die Beschreibung des Codex'. 48 Miniaturen haben sich auf 24 Blättern erhalten, der Text wurde von zwei Schreibern geschrieben. Zimmermann betont die Originalität der Bilder, die einem bis zur Josefsgeschichte stark redigierten Septuagintatext begleiten. Dabei dominiert das Bild gegenüber dem Text. Die Wiener Genesis ist, was Schrift und Stil angeht, verwandt mit den anderen zwei frühchristlichen Purpurcodices, den Codices Rossanensis und Sinopensis.

Der größte Teil der Arbeit befasst sich mit der Beschreibung der Miniaturen. Dabei wird zunächst eine Übersetzung des zugehörigen Textes geboten. Dann wird jede Miniatur eingehend beschrieben, wobei der Stil primär nicht kommentiert wird. Es folgen die verschiedenen Deutungsvorschläge der Szenen in der Literatur, wie auch Vergleiche mit Szenen in anderen Bildzyklen, wenn vorhanden. Anschließend bietet die Autorin ihre Deutung der jeweiligen Miniatur. Am Ende des Buches sind die ersten 8 Blätter in Farbe abgebildet, während von den restlichen Blättern nur die Miniaturen in schwarz-weiß reproduziert werden.

Aus der Analyse von Zimmermann ergibt sich, dass die Bilder auf der Basis des Bibeltextes der Wiener Genesis und durch die Benutzung von gängigem Bildformular zu erklären sind. Die Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Illustrationsverfahrens finden hier Beachtung - im Gegensatz zur älteren Literatur. Alle Deutungen, die eine Beeinflussung der Illustration durch jüdische Quellen voraussetzen, werden von der Verfasserin zu Recht verworfen. Szenenkontamination, die an die Existenz eines umfangreicheren Zyklus als Vorlage hinweisen würde, lehnt sie systematisch ab. Die Miniaturen gehen nicht über den Bibeltext hinaus. Es ist eine sachliche Umsetzung des Wortes ins Bild zu beobachten, ohne dass es nötig ist, für das Verständnis der Bilder jüdische Legenden und exegetische Texte heranzuziehen. Dies gilt ihrer Meinung nach auch für die Josefsgeschichte. Die Unstimmigkeiten zwischen Text und Bild sind in manchen Fällen eventuell durch den Einfluss einer illustrierten Ephraim Syrus-Handschrift zu erklären. Durch diese Beobachtungen wird die Illustration der Wiener Genesis als eine originelle Neuschöpfung gewertet, die keiner 'Rezension' zuzuordnen ist.

Die Auswertung beinhaltet ein Kapitel über das Bildformular, in dem verschiedene Themen ikonographisch untersucht werden. Die Autorin stellt fest, dass die Maler aus einem großen Fundus gängiger Bildformeln schöpften, die in der römischen Kunst fußen. Sie hält die Benutzung von Musterbüchern für möglich, lehnt jedoch die Übernahme von Miniaturen aus einer anderen Handschrift bis zur Josefsgeschichte ab. Aus der Analyse der Darstellungsweise, die im ganzen Codex konstant bleibt, ergibt sich, dass diese sich von der Vortragsweise in den Codices Rossanensis und Sinopensis unterscheidet. Sie findet ihre nächste Parallele in den Langhausmosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore in Rom. Die beiden Zyklen weisen die gleiche Aussageintention auf.

Das fünfte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Scheidung der Malerhände. Zimmermann reduziert die von O. Mazal angenommene, viel zu hohe, Anzahl der beteiligten Maler von elf auf sechs Maler. Man vermisst hier eine Tabelle mit der Scheidung der Hände, mit der den Ausführungen der Autorin einfacher zu folgen wäre. Im 6. Kapitel rekonstruiert Zimmermann die Entstehung der Prunkhandschrift als eine Auftragsarbeit. Anschließend werden die Teilergebnisse ihrer Untersuchung zusammengefasst.

Zimmermann ist es gelungen, die Illustrationen dieses faszinierenden Codex' sehr lebhaft und kompetent vorzustellen. Trotzdem sind einige Anmerkungen zu machen. Es ist schade, dass Datierung und Lokalisierung der Handschrift nicht erneut besprochen werden. Vor allem die Lokalisierungsfrage ist m.E. keineswegs endgültig geklärt. Die Autorin stellt zwar einen Bruch in der Wiedergabe des biblischen Textes und im Verhältnis zwischen Text und Bild ab der Josefsgeschichte fest, aber die für die Rekonstruktion des Entstehungsprozesses wichtige Frage nach dessen Grund wird nicht emphatisch genug gestellt. Für die Mehrheit der Miniaturen hat die Autorin bewiesen, dass sie am zugehörigen Text entwickelt wurden. Vor allem die Abhängigkeit mancher Miniaturen vom redigierten Text ist ein starkes Argument für eine ad hoc Entstehung des Bildzyklus. Bei einigen Miniaturen wurde jedoch klar, dass der Bibeltext für ihre Interpretation nicht aus-

reicht. Die Autorin konnte allerdings die bisherigen Deutungen überzeugend widerlegen.

Druckfehler sind in dem umfangreichen Band selten anzutreffen. Es sei außerdem bemerkt, dass der Marc. gr.479 (Ps.Oppian) ins 11. statt ins 10. Jh. zu datieren ist.

Die Analyse von Zimmermann wurde methodisch hervorragend durchgeführt. Ihr Buch ist ein wichtiger Beitrag für die Geschichte der spätantiken Buchillustration.

Vasiliki Tsamakda

J.-M. CARRIÉ, R. LIZZI TESTA (edd.), *Humana sapit. Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002. XXII+504 pp.; 28 cm (Bibl. de l'Antiquité tardive 3). – ISBN 2-503-51279-8.

Festschriften are a strange, and occasionally even dubious, phenomenon. Strange because of the variety of occasions giving rise to such volumes: sexagenarians, septagenarians, retiring professors (whether or not belonging to those two age categories), are the most obvious candidates for such *honores*; in addition, certain merits come into play: an extraordinary level of scholarship, of organizing qualities and of ability and willingness to recruit 'novices' for the discipline. Nevertheless, not all scholars who fulfill these requirements, receive such an homage. Some do not want it - as is the case with royal decorations -, others may not have developed the sort of network or lacked the level of diplomacy which is a necessary, though not sufficient requirement. Dubious, because such volumes often lack a minimum of coherence and in fact are a kind of graveyard in which large numbers of articles are buried. Publication in a prestigious and accessible periodical seems preferable to such a 'burial'.

The honorand of the volume under review certainly deserves this homage; and the editors have duly sacrificed on the altar of 'coherence' by grouping the 42 contributions under six thematic headings: Italy, elites and their culture, Christianity and church, economy and society, law and administration, and ancient and modern historiography. The rubrics are interesting in themselves but at the same time they are disconcertingly broad and vague; within each rubric the coherence is hard to find; the editors did not pose certain specific questions which the contributors subsequently were asked to consider.

For the readers of *BABesch* there is little archaeology in the volume. G. Volpe publishes a stamped tile found in a *villa cum basilica* in San Giusto (Lucera, Puglia); the monogram should be read as Iohannis: either a local bishop or the homonymous *magister militum* of Justinian; not very exciting. J.M. Blazques examines various excavation-reports in a search for amphoras imported in Spain from North Africa and the Greek East (oil; salted food) between 300 and 700 AD; the decline in those imports cannot be assigned to the Arab Conquest, as once argued by J. Pirenne, whose main thesis had already been demolished long before Blazques.

N. Duval offers some perceptive comments on a late Roman mosaic from Borj Jedid (Carthage) representing a man on horseback and a building complex. Against prevailing interpretations he shows that the complex rep-

resents a city (and not a fortified villa) and the rider a hunter (and not a barbarian Vandal on horseback). E. Popescu gives a bibliographical survey of what happened in 20th-century Roumania in the field of Christian archaeology and epigraphy. One result is that once more one realizes how much of that material, published in local media, remains inaccessible to the western world. G. Bowersock contributes an elegant and convincing article on 'Peter and Constantine', showing that, at least as early as the 2nd century AD, a shrine of St. Peter is likely to have been built on the site of the present St. Peter and has been incorporated in the 4th century AD basilica; however, the latter is not likely to have been built by Constantine, though some authorities have a strong predilection for that idea for propagandistic reasons. Bad luck for the latter. S. Panciera offers a brilliant study of the Latin inscription *L'Année Épigraphique* (1927) no. 103. Re-examination of the stone showed that in LL. 2/3 there is a double rasura. In the original text Alexander Severus is likely to have been mentioned; after his death the name of Maximinus, still legible in the rasura, has been engraved. The stone dates from ca. 238 AD; earlier speculations about the 3rd or early 4th century AD are now superseded. The text mentions a shrine of Liber Pater erected on the estate of Constantii, not far from Rome.

Instead of simply listing the titles of the remaining 36 articles - a rather meaningless enterprise in view of the lack of coherence - I prefer to single out a few contributions dealing with subjects appealing to my interest and, hopefully, competence. J.-M. Carrié's article on the professional associations of late antiquity ('entre *munus* et *convivialité*') is much to be recommended in spite of the main thesis being repeated too often. That thesis is that those late antique associations, which provided *publicae necessitates*, were subject to the *munus* of the collection of taxes imposed on the members; as a result membership will have been compulsory. The corollary that the 'simples collegia urbains' (320) were not subject to state-control but were only morally engaged to their cities, seems less convincing. The many passages in the *Cod. Theod.* about *collegiati* in general, and their compulsory *obsequium* towards their city in particular, indicate more than just moral engagement. Incidentally, given the fact that compulsion reigned supreme for *curiales* and *collegiati*, and given the likelihood that this presupposes a fundamental unwillingness on the part of both groups to do what apparently during the first three centuries of the empire was done voluntarily and was considered normal behaviour, I do not understand why Carrié protests so emphatically against the concept of the *Zwangstaat*. A *Zwangstaat* it was; another question is whether such a state can be held responsible for the gradual decline of late imperial economy; decline there was, given the relative poverty and political weakness of the Carolingian kings compared to the wealth and power of the Roman emperor, the extreme fragmentation of the economy and the 'primitiveness' of the Carolingian economy. C.'s idea that Greek (and Roman) associations never defended 'intérêts corporatifs (au sens médiéval'; 313) seems problematic. Under the Principate professional associations in Asia Minor occasionally defended economic interests, directly or indirectly, as O. van Nijf has recently pointed out (*The civic world of professional associations in the Roman East*,

Amsterdam 1997; 12-18; 82-95; see also I. Dittmann-Schöne, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Regensburg 2001). Carrié knows and praises Van Nijf's book without referring to the sections about economic interests. If we are allowed to extrapolate from an Egyptian papyrus recording price-agreements and market regulations made by salt-dealers, there is no reason to think of mere 'convivialité' as the main function of such associations. Inversely, medieval guilds did not only defend economic interests but also practised 'convivialité'.

D. Vera's article provides an interesting new interpretation of the *panis Ostiensis adque fiscalis* (*Cod. Theod.* 14.19.1), sold at a low price. We have cheap bread offered exclusively to dwellers in Ostia; in the process - and perhaps even more important - V. argues that in late imperial Rome there was a substantial free market for grain, oil, wine and meat.

A. Giardina dates the *Life of Abercius* to the 5th/6th century AD rather than to the 4th, as most scholars suggested up to now. His main argument is the use of the Greek word *magistrianos* for *agens in rebus*. He collected 51 cases of *magistrianus*/*magistrianos* indicating *agentes in rebus* and observed that for nearly all these cases there is a *terminus post quem* of 430 AD. The author of the *Vita Abercii* betrays his date by using this word. SEG XXX 1687, XLIV 1015, XLV 1931 and 1939 and XLVII 2008 and 2013, possibly not included in G.'s data base, confirm G.'s late date for the *magistriano*.

A. Cameron contributes a protracted review of M. Edwards/M. Goodman/S. Price (eds.), *Apologetic in the Roman Empire. Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Oxford 1999), comparing it with a few other publications on pagan and Jewish religion. She argues that 2nd century AD Christian apologetic should be seen against the background of a continuous stream of post-Constantinian treatises against the Jews and the heretics. That is fair enough, though in the pre-Constantinian treatises the emphasis is on the defense of a monotheistic minority-religion in the face of hostile and dominant pagan philosophers and cults, whereas after Constantine we have the attacks on minority groups by increasingly dominant Christians; but after all attack often is the best form of defense. C. defends two additional auxiliary views. First, apologetic is not a genre but a 'tone or method of argument' and, second, in a world characterised by 'active competition and real rivalry' between religions in the Empire apologetic cannot be severed a priori from those competitive and rivalry-prone pagan religions. The first idea helps to deny a special status to the 2nd/3rd century AD apologetic treatises of Justin Martyr, Tatian and Athenagoras, and to insert them in the above-mentioned main stream of pre- and post-Constantinian writings. The second helps to undermine the idea that pre-Constantinian Christian apologetic is a specific genre, which has nothing in common with pagan literature. However, whether or not C. finds an apologetic 'tone or method of argument' in pagan literature, this does not seem to alter the fact that it is the Christians who prior to Constantine wrote specific apologetic treatises in defense of their own creed and, implicitly or explicitly, also as an attack on pagan religion. The pre-Constantinian pagans did not produce such treatises. Celsus attacked and refuted Christianity on intellectual, philosophical

grounds rather than that he wrote an apologetic work in defense of paganism, and I cannot think of any pagan treatise in defense of pagan cults, whether henotheistic or in honor of specific gods. In a polytheistic or even henotheistic world, where cults of various gods are easily combined, there was simply no need for apologetic. Who attacked the cult of Liber Pater, Zeus Bronton, Mithras, Heis Theos or Theion Polymorphon (*EA* 34, 2002, 17 no. 38)? Tolerance reigned supreme in spite of C.'s 'real rivalry'. It was the monotheistic and therefore intolerant Christians who began to produce defensive treatises. They were the exception which confirmed the rule that in society at large the maxim of 'the more gods you worship, the better' was widely adhered to. For literary critics it may be an interesting game to decide whether Tatian and Athenagoras really created or represented a specific genre; historians do not win much by joining the game. Tatian's 'method of argument' may or may not in detail contain parallels with contemporary pagan literature, his treatise and those of his colleagues as a whole do not have parallels in pagan literature; and, as argued above, that can be explained easily. So why not call them a genre?; and if the literary critics don't like that word, it is their problem, not that of the historian.

H.W. Pleket

R.B. HALBERTSMA, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade. The pioneer years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*. London: Routledge, 2003. XIV+182 pp., 10 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 0 415 27630 6

Recent interest in the history of collections has led to a number of studies concerning the individuals who helped form today's public museums. Researching these people and the historical and social climate in which they operated has shed light on both the formation of specific collections and on more general aspects of antiquarianism. Ruurd Halbertsma's account of the founding years of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, centres on the collection's main protagonist, Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvsen, from his appointment as professor of archaeology in 1818 (at the age of just 25), until the years following his untimely death in 1835. Referring to material in the museum's archive, the author assesses Reuvsen's involvement in acquisitions and excavations, and his efforts to promote the discipline of archaeology in the Netherlands.

Caspar Reuvsen was appointed to the newly-created chair of archaeology at Leiden University, (the first of its kind in the Netherlands), on 13 June 1818. In addition to the academic position, he was put in charge of the university's 'archaeology cabinet', which comprised the collection of antique statuary amassed by Gerard van Papenbroek in the 18th century, but which was then languishing in the humid environment of the Botanic Garden's orangery. Reuvsen's desire to form a national collection was principally determined by scholarly concerns. He envisioned the museum as an educational source for archaeology students and as a centre from which to expand Dutch archaeological research.

The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden's collection, like those of numerous museums in Europe, was formed

during and after the Napoleonic Wars when the procurement, sale and exhibition of antiquities became intimately bound with nationalist and imperialist ideology. Whilst promoting the academic credentials of the fledgling discipline of archaeology, Reuvsen was aware of how patriotic sentiment could be invoked to persuade those in positions of authority to support his enterprises. Central to the story of the museum's foundation are the interactions between Reuvsen and those who determined the collection's budget - the Minister of the Interior and the King. Reuvsen's correspondence reveals the fluctuating interest of state and university authorities in his archaeological work, but it also shows how effective he was in attracting support for his ideas.

Reuvsen's commitment to advancing the discipline of archaeology is evident from his efforts to define antiquities and formulate a collecting policy for the museum. Several disputes show how disagreement arose over the role of archaeology in relation to the established disciplines of history and philology. There were also questions over which antiquities belonged to the Leiden collection and which were to be housed in other Dutch museums. The concern to define a collecting remit for the National Museum of Antiquities can be seen in exchanges between Reuvsen and director of the Royal Coin Cabinet in the Hague, J.C. de Jonge, over a group of artefacts from North Africa which arrived in Leiden in 1824. The coins were sent to the Hague, but De Jonge also sought to obtain a group of scarab beetles as these fell within the Coin Cabinet's remit of 'carved stones'. When De Jonge rejected them, Reuvsen refused to accept the scarabs back, returning the objects to the Hague with a letter which questioned the customary divisions and definitions of antiquities (pp. 39-42).

Another sign of Reuvsen's progressive approach to archaeology was his concern for contextual information. When the maverick Flemish colonel, B.E.A. Rottiers arranged funding for a collecting and excavation mission to Greece, Reuvsen supplied specific instructions about the need to record information concerning the circumstances of finds. The instructions requested that detailed drawings be made of each monument inspected, and also gave advice about where to excavate and which antiquities to purchase (pp. 57-58). Reuvsen later stated that 'archaeology does not benefit from a single pot, a coin or even a statue, but from the consequences of these finds for the study of ancient topography and history' (p. 116).

Next to Reuvsen, two other personalities feature strongly in the pioneer years of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities. The first is the aforementioned Colonel Rottiers, whose collection became the museum's first major purchase in 1821. Although useful for his contacts in Greece and Turkey, Rottiers was unreliable and later revealed to be fraudulent. Another important figure in the museum's formative years was Jean Emile Humbert, a military engineer who developed an interest in archaeology whilst working in Tunisia in the late 18th century. Humbert undertook excavations around the ancient city of Carthage, unearthing and later publishing Punic stelae and inscriptions as well as researching the topography of the Carthaginian peninsula. His application of engineering skills to the excavation and recording of archaeological material were impressive

and it is likely that these techniques influenced Reuvers when he excavated the Roman settlement of Forum Hadriani in the Netherlands. After moving to Livorno in Italy, Humbert acted as a mediator in the purchasing of antiquities, most notably the collection belonging to Jean d'Anastasy, a large group of important Egyptian artefacts bought by the Netherlands in 1828.

Halbertsma's clear narrative offers insight into the process of collecting and the historical circumstances under which an early-nineteenth century national collection was formed. By focusing on a short period of time, major acquisitions are considered in some detail. As such, interesting features emerge regarding the procurement, valuation and purchasing of antiquities. Translated passages of correspondence and archival material are useful and not excessive. These documents would be further enhanced however by being presented in combination with other evidence for collecting practices during this period.

W. Anderson

STEFAN ALTEKAMP, MATHIAS RENÉ HOFER & MICHAEL KRUMME, *Posthumanistische klassische Archäologie: Historizität und Wissenschaftlichkeit von Interessen und Methoden*. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2001. 507 pp.; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 3-7774-9300-7.

Under the intriguing title 'Posthumanistische klassische Archäologie' a three day conference was held in Berlin in February 1999. Two years later the *Acta* were published in an impressive volume with the full text of the 26 papers, which were read and discussed during the conference. The organizers' aim was to stir up the theoretical discussion about the position of classical archaeology v.z. for instance history, prehistory and philology, and about classical archaeology itself: should the profession be considered as art history of the ancient (Graeco-Roman) world, focusing on the highlights of antiquity, or should 'mediterranean' archaeology encompass also gender studies, landscape archaeology and diachronical comparative archaeology. When considering the subjects of current PhD research in Germany, most of the students appear to work on 6th and 5th century Greek art and architecture: 'riskless themes' as they are called in the introduction, fitting in the rich German tradition of *Altertumswissenschaft* and very apt to secure a position at one of the traditional universities. The organizers of the conference raise the question if this approach of the classical world is still valid in an era in which classical studies are increasingly less relevant in education and society, in short in a 'post-humanistic' (or neo-medieval?) period of western civilization.

To approach these questions the conference was divided into three broad themes: the first section ('Bilanzen und Ausblicke') treats the history of classical archaeology and visions of the future. Without studying the past of our profession, it is impossible to understand the current state of affairs. Although most of the contributions describe chapters from the German history of archaeology, there are also other perspectives: Alain Schnapp gives an overview of French archaeological scholarship ('L'histoire de l'archéologie classique en

France: ombres et lumières'), Marcello Barbanera explains the difficulties of organizing archaeology in 19th century Italy ('Zwischen Praxis und Theorie: die Entstehung der modernen italienischen Archäologie in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts') and Anthony Snodgrass describes the dichotomy between classical and provincial-roman archaeologists in Great Britain and Germany ('Separate tables? A story of two traditions within one discipline'). One citation gives a good idea about the difference in schools and scholarly approaches of the discipline:

For, whether or not Romano-British archaeology would have done better to throw in its lot at the outset with Classical Archaeology, as in the German case, the truth is that this simply could not have happened in Britain. It may be difficult to try to imagine a German Wheeler, but it is far more so to think of the direction of Romano-British excavations being in the hands of an Institute presided over by Sir John Beazley.

The first section is closed with an essay of Adrian Stähli ominously entitled 'Vom Ende der klassischen Archäologie'.

In the second part the theoretical debate is in full swing. Under the title 'Wissenschaftstheorie und Methodik' eleven essays are grouped with different, rather loosely connected subjects. The contributions vary from the perception of post-classical and hellenistic Greece during the Nazi period (Reinhold Bichler: 'Nachklassik und Hellenismus im Geschichtsbild der NS-Zeit. Ein Essay zur Methoden-Geschichte der Kunstarchäologie'), the linguistic analysis of archaeological publications (Franz Beckmann: 'Archäologische Publikationen aus fachsprachenlinguistischer Sicht. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von "Sprachlichkeit" und "Fachlichkeit"') to essays which are concerned with archaeology and psycho-analysis (Alexander Böhle) and the relationship between history and archaeology (Justus Cobet).

The third and last section takes leave of the heavy theoretical discussions and treats subjects related to practical studies and - again - the history of archaeology ('Praxis und Rezeption'). Barbara Borg describes early Greek allegory in an unusual manner ('Blinde Flecken: Die frühe griechische Allegorie als Beispiel kollektiver Verdrängung'), Vinzenz Brinkmann throws interesting light on the archaeological use of early photography ('Die Photographie in der Archäologie'), Pascal Weitmann pleads for a new renaissance ('Antike und moderne Kunst oder: Prolegomena zur Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit eines neuen Humanismus') and the history of collecting antiquities is treated in essays by Luca Giuliani, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer and Nikolaus Bernau. The volume closes with a full bibliography of all the titles quoted in the text. Unfortunately indexes are totally missing.

The sometimes rather abstract and high-sounding contributions are enlivened by a full transcript of the discussions between speaker and participants. Opposing views reflect themselves in the additions and confrontations following each paper. Even clashes between scholars are duly reported ('So naiv bin ich nicht!' 'Dann müssen Sie vielleicht Ihre Frage noch einmal präzisieren, in die Richtung hatte ich Sie verstanden', p. 142). Illustrations are very scarce (only two articles are embellished with them), which comes to no surprise

in a collection of mostly theoretical treatises. All in all 'Posthumanistische Archäologie' is an important collection of essays, which stimulate thoughts about changes in our society and consequently changes in the attitude towards classical archaeology: *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*.

Ruurd Halbertsma

DIETRICH WILLERS UND LILIAN RASELLI-NYDEGGER (Hrgs), *Im Glanz der Götter und Heroen. Meisterwerke antiker Glyptik aus der Stiftung Leo Merz*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003. 232 S., 273 Farb-, 122 S/w Abb.; 29 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-3295-5.

In the summer of 2001 Eva Merz, the daughter of Leo Merz, a well-known Swiss collector of ancient gems and jewellery, decided to bequeath her father's collection to the 'Antikensammlung der Universität Bern'. This generous donation was the reason to organize an exhibition in the Kunstmuseum Bern, which opened its doors on 16 October 2003 and ended on 8 February 2004. In the exhibition the collection of Leo Merz was displayed, together with loans from European museums and private collectors. The exhibition was accompanied by a splendid catalogue, with a number of introductory articles and descriptions of 242 objects from the collection.

The first article is of course devoted to the person of Leo Merz (1869-1952), an influential lawyer, whose career led him to important functions as supreme judge and minister of justice. When his active years in court and in politics were nearly over, he started collecting with zeal and taste. He had the good sense to develop himself as a 'Meister in der Begrenzung': his main interest lied in ancient gemstones and cameos, with special attention for the *Nachleben* of this kind of ancient art. In 1984 Marie-Louise Vollenweider published part of the collection in her book 'Deliciae Leonis', with a description of both the man (Leo) and his passion for precious antiques (*deliciae*).

The second contribution by Lilian Raselli-Nydegger gives an introduction to the study of ancient gemstones, from the earliest known specimens in the Near East (4th millennium BC) to the practitioners of the art in the 19th century. Special attention is given to the ancient motives on the stones and the social status of the owners of both rings and cameos ('Insignien der Macht').

The next chapter by Sabine Häberli and Lore Kiefert focuses on the specimens of stones, which were used to produce gems and cameos and the technical abilities which were required to work the hard and precious materials. Interesting is the influx of stones from India in the hellenistic period after the eastern expeditions of Alexander the Great.

Two articles on the *Nachleben* of ancient stones conclude the first part of the catalogue. Erika Zwierlein-Diehl describes the peregrination of the most important piece in the Merz-collection: the superb cameo of emperor Claudius, which in the 15th century was part of a reliquary owned by René I d'Anjou and his wife Jeanne de Laval. Gertrud Platz-Horster gives an analysis of the 140 drawings of ancient gemstones by the 19th-century artist Giovanni Calandrelli and the difficulties of discerning between ancient and modern craftsmanship, a problem to which Heinrich Meyer remarked in a letter to Goethe (himself an avid collector of gems): 'Das Gute und Schöne bleibt immer der wahre Prüfstein, und wenn diese ersten Bedingungen erfüllt sind, so fragen wir auch nicht weiter nach Alterthum oder Neuzeit.'

The catalogue proper is divided into five parts. The first section treats 'Formen und Themen antiker Glyptik', with themes like mythology, animals, magic and sexuality. The erotic scene on a 1st century BC gemstone ('Silen beschleicht eine gelagerte Frau', cat. nr. 56) should better be interpreted as the encounter of an impetuous silenus with a couching hermaphrodite: the raised hand of the silenus and his stunned expression are rather the sign of surprise at discovering his partner's true sex than gestures of triumph, as the commentary wants us to believe. The second chapter deals with 'Die Welt der Venus. Schmuck und Amulette'. The masterpiece in this realm of feminine beauty is without doubt the 'Aphrodite Marlborough' (cat. nr. 87), a cameo of Indian sardonyx, showing a fine classical portrait of Venus: style and subject link this precious object to the court of the emperor Augustus. More imperial influence is seen in the third chapter 'Porträt', with very good cameos of Augustus (cat. nr. 154), Gaius (cat. nr. 155) and the already mentioned Claudius (cat. nr. 156). The last two sections deal with renaissance and 19th century gemstones: 'Weiterleben, Neubeginn, all'antica' (cat. nrs. 174-213) and 'Gemmenschneider und Gemmenschnitt der Neuzeit' (cat. nrs. 214-242).

All ancient gems and most of the modern ones are reproduced in full-colour photographs of very high quality. By lightning the stones from beneath the photographer has rendered the different colours of the stones in a way the average museum visitor will never experience (for example cat. nr. 140, the head of Medusa with the blood-red background). When the photograph of an incised gem does not give enough details, a black and white photograph of the clear positive imprint is added in the text. In short, this catalogue is a state of the art publication for everybody who is interested in the ancient art of engraving precious stones and its enormous popularity in later western civilization.

Ruurd Halbertsma